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William Clayton

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Political, Commercial, and Philoſophical;

Together with his

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BY

THO. BIRCH, M. A. F. R. S.

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A

DISCOURSE

TOUCHING A

War with *SPAIN*,

And of the Protecting of the

NETHERLANDS.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IT belongeth not to me to judge whether the King of *Spain* hath done wrong to the *Netherlands*, or whether the *Netherlands* have failed in Allegiance towards the King. The King pretending abſolute Sovereignty, they pretending a conditional Obedience.

But it ſeems to me, without queſtion, that both *Holland* and *Zealand* did of Right belong to the Lady *Inquelin* of *Haynault*; who, to ſave her own Life, was forced to relinquiſh her Eſtate; and that *Zupthen* and *Guelders* did as rightfully belong to the Duke of *Arnold*, who being Priſoner with that Duke of *Burgundy* that died before *Nantz*, the ſaid Duke intruded

upon his Poſſeſſion to the Prejudice of *Adolfe* his Son and lawful Succeſſor.

But leaving their Quarrels to their own Conſciences; whether it ſtandeth with your Majeſty's Safety to relinquiſh them, Yea, or No, is the Argument which I preſume to offer to your Majeſty's great Wiſdom.

The *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, with the reſt of the United Provinces (which altogether we call by the Name of *Netherlands*) are your Majeſty's near Neighbours, and moſt induſtrious People; they are near, and may, with a Blaſt of Wind, in twenty-four Hours depart their own Coaſts and enter ours.

And a poor Neighbour's Houſe ſet on fire, is to be better guarded, or watched, than a great City afar off.

They are ſtrong by the Situation of their Countries, ſtrong in Cities, Mariners, and Shipping; by reaſon of the Country and fortify'd Towns, they are able to defend themſelves; and by reaſon of the Multitude of their Ships, they are in a Condition to offend others.

There are no People more induſtrious in all Things, or more provident. Witneſs theſe two Particulars: The firſt, That having in *Holland* neither Timber nor Iron, they build more Ships, and cheaper, than either *England* or *Spain*, which have Plenty of both.

The ſecond is, That whereas their Grounds are in effect all Paſtures, and have no Wheat growing of their own, they not only ſerve themſelves cheap, but have us'd (when the Trade was open) to furniſh both *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy* with the ſame Grain. Now whether it will ſtand with your Majeſty's Safety to abandon a Nation ſo near, ſo ſtrong, and ſo induſtrious will be the Queſtion? I anſwer, That for your Majeſty to leave the *Netherlands* to themſelves, as they are conſider'd ſtrong, can bring no other Danger to your Majeſty than is common to all Princes that have ſtrong Neighbours.

But if they cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, nor without their Subjection to ſome other Prince, or State, they

ſhall

ſhall not be able to defend themſelves; then the Peril which may enſue is very likely, or rather aſſur'd to *Britain*. It is firſt therefore to be enquired, Whether they can ſubſiſt, or no? If they can, it is formerly anſwer'd; if they cannot, on what Prince they are likelieſt to rely?

Firſt, That they have means to defend themſelves, Experience denies; and that Experience is grounded upon good Reaſon: For as your Majeſty beſt knows it, as from the Beginning of their Revolt, they have made Strangers to their Bodies, their Defenders; ſo are their own People altogether unapt for Soldiers: If they were otherwiſe, yet have their Eſtates now ſuch Dominion, as they can employ them otherways; moſt part of their People are Mechanics, and live by their Handy-crafts, their Crafts-men maintain their Trades, and Navigation produces their Revenues, which maintain their Wars. And though there have been certain Troops erected of *Fryſons*, and out of other Iſland Parts; yet theſe do rather ſerve to make up their Numbers, and furniſh their Garriſons, than that they have us'd them in any important Service, or in the Field: So that the Strength of their Armies have conſiſted, for the moſt part, of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *French*.

If then, ſuch be the Compoſition of their Armies: It is firſt apparent, that they cannot defend themſelves by their proper Forces; and that they will rely and give themſelves to one of theſe Princes; *viz.* to the *Engliſh* (accounting now *England* and *Scotland* all one) or *French*; or elſe return again, in the End, to the Arch-Duke, or to the *Spaniſh* King.

The Reaſon why they bind themſelves to this Choice is, Power and Neighbourhood: Your Majeſty, and the *French* being beſt able, and the next adjoining.

To expect Succour from the *Germans*, or from other Princes which are remote, they cannot;

Firſt, Becauſe thoſe Princes have Dependance on the Emperor.

Secondly, Becauſe they are not of Ability to maintain the Quarrel.

And Thirdly, and chiefly, Becauſe their Succour cannot come ſo far, being to march Over-land, the Charge being double to all Armies that paſs through the Territories of other Princes; which muſt either be able to maſter the Territories, or paſs by ſafe Conducts whither they march.

So great Armies, as ſhall maſter Countries, the States need not; and the leſſer will be always in danger to be cut off, or reſiſted. The Neighbouring Princes being more fearful of the *Spaniard*'s Greatneſs, than careful of the State's Amity.

But the *Netherlands* require often Supply, and few in Number, ſuch Troops as may be tranſported by Sea, in the *Netherlands* own Shipping, and at an eaſy Rate, and in leſſer Time: For as *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, may ſupply them in twenty-four Hours; ſo from any Prince or State elſe, they may be, in coming Over-land, twenty-four Weeks. It is therefore likely, that if your Majeſty refuſe them, they will offer themſelves to the *French*, or return to the *Spaniſh* Obedience; both which will bring equal Danger to your Majeſty's State.

The Reaſons are many; but I will rehearſe them in a few Words, becauſe your Majeſty can better judge by a Word, than another can by a Volume.

There are two Ways by which *England* may be afflicted.

The one by Invaſion, being put to the Defenſive, in which we ſhall but caſt Lots for our own Garments.

The other by Impeachment of our Trades; by which Trades all Commonwealths flouriſh, and are enrich'd.

Invaded or impeach'd we cannot be, but by Sea; and therefore that Enemy which is ſtrongeſt by Shipping is moſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

It is certain, the *Netherlands* are able to furniſh more Ships of War, and Mariners, than all *England* and *Scotland* can do, with greater Facility, and in ſhorter Time: What Advantages your Majeſty hath by the powerfulneſs of your own Ships, the ſame Advantages are anſwer'd by the *Netherlands* in their Numbers: Who by reaſon of their long Wars with *Spain*, and diligent Search over the World for Trade, are become the moſt orderly, and beſt diſciplin'd Men of War by Sea in all *Europe*.

This great Strength of Shipping is not ſo much to be accounted of, if it were not in theſe two Reſpects.

The one, becauſe it is ſo exceeding near us.

The other, becauſe *Holland* and *Zealand* are ſituate between us and our beſt Trades, which are all Eaſtward.

For our *Muſcovia* Fleets, our Merchant Adventurers, our Companies of *Eaſtland*, and all which trade through the *Sound*, from whence we have our Materials for Shipping, muſt paſs by *Holland*.

And if thoſe Trades were impeach'd, all Sorts of People would ſuffer together, and the Commonwealth fall into extream Poverty and Decay.

And whereas it may be objected, that our *Muſcovia* Fleet, and our Merchant Adventurers are of ſufficient Strength to make their own Paſſage, and need not fear the Force of the *Netherlands*: I confeſs, that, as they may paſs, ſo they may periſh.

But this is a general, and infallible Rule, in all the Courſe of Merchandize, That whereſoever the Adventure is great, and the Profit little, the Adventurer will ſoon give up.

But if the *Engliſh* Merchants ſhall be driven to double Man their Ships, and furniſh them with double Munition, and pay double Wages, then the Charge will be double to that which now it is; the Hazard will alſo be manifeſt, for the Reaſons before alledg'd.

And that which will prove as great an Inconveniency as the reſt, will be; the great Price of Merchandize return'd from all theſe Burdens, will light upon the Buyer, and upon all Sorts of People, in the End.

Example may be taken by the Merchants of *Seville* in *Spain*, who, by reaſon of our ſcattering Men of War upon their Coaſts in the *Indies*, did pay 20 *per Cent.* for Convoy. This new Charge ſo impoveriſh'd the Merchants, that both the Banks of *Seville* broke, as the firſt Misfortune that befel them, for little leſs than twenty Millions.

There's a great Difference between the Strength of the *Netherlands*, and that of the *Spaniſh* King; when he maketh any great Armado, he's driven to take up and imbark in the Shipping of all Nations; ſome of his own, others from *Venice*, or *Raguſa*, others out of all the Parts of the *Eaſtlands*, and from the *Hans* Towns, from the *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Lubickers* and *Bremers*.

Theſe Ships are of divers Conducts, and divers Swiftneſſes, ſo as they cannot either aſſail or defend in groſs, as the *Engliſh*, or *Netherlands* can.

The *Spaniſh* King is alſo conſtrained to preſs the Mariners of other Nations; as the *Italian*, *French*, *Flemming* and *Dutch*, to mingle with thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Nation. When theſe come to any Extremity, either by foul Weather, or by Fight, the Confuſion is infinite; and ſometimes a Ship may be caſt away by miſtaking of a Rope: There cannot be found any Maſters or Captains that can ſpeak all theſe Languages; and if they could, yet were it to little Purpoſe; for Men are directed at Sea, by Multitude, not in a ſingle Voice.

Furthermore, theſe Men that are of ſtrange Nations, and are taken up by Violence, fight with their Hands, but not with their Hearts; they rather deſire Liberty than Victory; and rather ſeek to hide themſelves, and ſave themſelves thereby, than to hazard their Lives

in

in a Quarrel that neither appertains to them, their Princes, or their Country.

Laſtly, When the *Spaniſh* King ſhall attempt any thing upon *England*, or *Ireland*, or any ſuch remote Country, his Fleets are ſubject to great Variety of Winds and Weather, and to many Storms, by reaſon whereof, the late great *Spaniſh* Admiral loſt both his Enterprizes upon *England*: The laſt Fleet alſo, that came for *Ireland*, was diſperſed and much broken; and in the Year 1588, after the Duke of *Medina* was once beaten from the Narrow Seas, he loſt the beſt Part of his Fleet by Tempeſt.

On the contrary, the *Netherlands* have as many Ships of their own, as any Chriſtian Prince hath, their Ships are of one Faſhion, Conduct, and Swiftneſs; their Mariners of their own Nation, and Language; valiant and well order'd Men; and, as it is ſaid before, ſo near us, as they will be in our Ports in a Summer's Day: So no People are ſo fitted by Art and Nature to annoy theſe Kingdoms as they.

It may perchance be objected, that when King *Hen.* VIII. had Wars with the Emperor *Charles* V. who was alſo Lord of the *Low Countries*, that the *Engliſh* received no Prejudice by the main Ships of the *Netherlands*: It is true, and I myſelf remember, that within theſe thirty Years, Two of her Majeſty's Ships would have commanded one hundred Sail of theirs.

I remember alſo, when myſelf was a Captain in *Ireland*, that a hundred Foot, and a hundred Horſe, would have beaten all the Force of the ſtrongeſt Provinces: But of late, I have known an *Eaſterling* fight hand to hand with one of her Majeſty's Ships; and that the *Iriſh* have, in this laſt War, been overthrown with an even, or a far leſs Number.

The *Netherlands*, in thoſe Days, had wooden Guns, and the *Iriſh* had Darts; but the one is now furniſh'd with as great a Number of *Engliſh* Ordnance as our-

ſelves, and the other with as good Pikes and Muſkets as *England* hath.

Of which War, I know no other Profit ariſing, than the Expence of two Millions, the impoveriſhing of this Kingdom, and the training and arming of the *Iriſh*, who have now, and ever had, their Lands and Lives reſtor'd, when they have been brought to the laſt Gaſp, and Point of Subjection. And therefore, if this truly be ſo of the former Government, *Stultum eſt eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere*; *'Tis a fooliſh Thing to aſſault thoſe whom we cannot keep in ſubjection when overcome.*

And a Council indeed far out of Courſe, which doth neither retain the Mind, nor reſtrain the Mighty. But he that Governs by Diſcourſe of former Times, ſhall but take counſel of the Dead; for the Natures of all Things under the Sun are ſubject to change, but the Nature of Reaſon only. And it is certain, that in the Times of Alteration, the Wiſdom of Nature is better than of Books; Prudence being a wiſe Election of thoſe Things which never remain after one and the ſelf-ſame Manner.

To reaſon by Compariſon; and to prove by the Argument *a Minori ad Majus*, how much the Trade of *England* may be endanger'd by the *Netherlands*; your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember, that *Dunkirk* is but a fiſhing Town, a bad Haven, and hath not above a dozen Sail of ſmall Ships; before which Port alſo there is continually maintain'd a ſtrong Fleet of *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders* to reſtrain them ſo, as they can neither come forth, nor paſs in, but in a dark Night, for fear of their Enemies, and at a Spring-tide for want of Water; and it is true, that thoſe few *Dunkirkers* have taken from the *Weſt-Country* Merchants, within two Years only, above three thouſand Veſſels, beſides all that they have gotten from the reſt of the Ports of *England*, and from the *Netherlands*; inſomuch as they have ſo impoveriſh'd all thoſe *Weſtern* Merchants,

Merchants, as their Trade, in effect, is utterly decay'd; and thoſe People which were wont to be ſet at work by them, and did live in good ſort, do now live by alms and begging.

If then one poor Town in *Flanders*, notwithſtanding the Impediments before rehears'd, hath ſo much impoveriſh'd your Majeſty's Subjects, what can *Holland* and *Zealand* do, who are able to ſet out fifty Sail of better Ships than thoſe of *Dunkirk* are? If it be aſk'd, What would be the Conſequence, if they ſhould join to your Majeſty's Enemies; I ſhall anſwer, as the Marſhal *Biron* did to the *French* King, *Vous le ſçavez mieux que moy*; *Your Majeſty knows better than I.*

Now, as the *Netherlands* may be us'd to impoveriſh your Majeſty's Dominions, by diſturbing our Trades; ſo ſhall they be in an Eſtate to aſſiſt the *Spaniſh* King upon any Invaſion, and that ſo dangerouſly, as it can hardly be reſiſted; for if the King of *Spain* ſhall prepare a Fleet in *Spain*, and therewith aſſail the *Weſtern* Ports, and the *Netherlands* with their Fleet, and Army of the *Low-Countries*, undertake the invading our *Eaſtern* Parts at the ſame Time, the greateſt Fleets that *England* can make (if it be divided) will not be able to encounter either.

Furthermore, if the *Netherlands* be with-held from the *Spaniſh* Obedience, your Majeſty hath but an Enemy of *Spain*; if you break with *Spain*, the Trade alſo is free and open to all Parts of the *Eaſt*; but if *Spain* recover the *Netherlands*, and then quarrel with your Majeſty, you ſhall then find a ſtrong War; and a ſtrong Reſtraint of Trade on both Sides.

To all this, your Majeſty may juſtly ſay, that I ſpeak upon Suppoſitions only; and I confeſs it.

For firſt, it is not agreed on, that if your Majeſty leave the *Low-Country* Men, that then they will receive the *Spaniſh* King, or the Arch-Duke.

Secondly, tho' they do, that therefore it follows, that either of them will make war with your Majeſty.

What

What the *Netherlands* will do, they being rejected by *England*, I cannot determine; it were Preſumption to ſpeak, but only mention, what Danger, in likelihood, may happen to *England* in the future.

For if the States do find, that they cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, and that your Majeſty refuſes to protect them, then it is undoubted, but that Neceſſity (which inforceth all Things) will alſo enforce them to chooſe a Maſter; and a fit Maſter cannot be found for them, but in *England*, or in *France*, unleſs they return to the Old——

If they give themſelves to *France*, it is worſe for us, as I conceive.

If they ſubmit themſelves to the *Spaniſh* King, what he will do afterwards, *Is occultius humana voluntate, is a Secret to us; and harder to diſcover, than the Intention of a Man in a Matter, before Occaſion offer'd to determine his Reſolution.* It is known to God only.

What he may then do, is that which I preſume to remember your Majeſty of: And Woe be to that Prince, or State, who holds his Quiet by the Will of another.

I have heard, that both the King, and the Arch-Duke will offer to your Majeſty Continuance of Peace: And I know they have good Cauſe to deſire it: But, *Unde hæc de illis tanta modeſtia niſi Cognitione Virium noſtrarum & ſuarum——But from whence comes this great Moderation and Compliance, but only from the Knowledge of our Strength, and their own Weakneſs.* And I am perſwaded, your Majeſty may have better Conditions than ever King of *England* had.

But after the *Spaniard* ſhall have repair'd his Loſſes, I know not how your Majeſty may be aſſur'd of his Amity: For the Kings of *Spain* were not wont to keep either Promiſes, or Oaths, longer than they may prove profitable to themſelves; *Cum principes utantur nomine pacis & fidei potius ad propriam commoditatem quam od earum obſervationem—For Princes make Promiſes,*

miſes, and enter into Leagues chiefly for their own Advantage; and longer than they tend to that, they do not hold themſelves oblig'd to obſerve them.

And eſpecially the Kings of *Caſtile*, who have follow'd *Ferdinand* (the firſt Elector of that Monarchy into greatneſs) both in Condition and Determination.

This *Ferdinand*, the better to effect what he aſpir'd unto, did forbear to break neither Oaths, nor Promiſes; reſpected neither Alliance, nor Kindred; witneſs his Treaties, and in them he folded up Treaſons againſt the *Neapolitan* Prince his Couſin, and to whom alſo he marry'd his Siſter, and to whoſe Defence he ſent *Gonſalvo* with an Army againſt the *French*, and with the ſame Army ſet upon the King at *Naples*, overthrew him, and divided his Kingdom (as your Majeſty beſt knows) with *Lewis* XII.

How he handled the *French* afterwards, and the *Venetians*; how he abus'd and betray'd his Son-in-law, King *Hen.* VIII. when he drew the *Engliſh* Army into *Biſcay*, with Promiſe to join with the *Engliſh* to recover the Dutchy of *Guienne*, while himſelf did by that Colour conquer *Navarre*: Of the like Practices of his Succeſſor *Charles* V. it were needleſs to repeat to your Majeſty; I have ſet it down at large, in *a Diſcourſe how War may be made againſt* Spain, *and the* Indies; which I will alſo preſent to your Majeſty, if you will vouchſafe the reading thereof. King *Philip* the laſt, had the ſame Intent the reſt of his Predeceſſors had; and if the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* had not been the Impediment, and his fond enterprizing of *France* and *England* at one Time, he had put all *Europe* in great hazard e're this!

But it may be perſwaded, that your Majeſty may relieve the *Netherlands* under-hand, as the *French* do, or her Majeſty did in the Beginning of their Revolt, for which, the King of *Spain* will not dare to quarrel for the preſent; For Princes muſt ſometimes look through their Fingers, as well as poor Men. *Maximilian*,

lian, the King of the *Romans*, made a Peace with *Charles* VIII. of *France*, notwithſtanding he had taken from him the Dutcheſs of *Britain*, to whom he was married by Proxy, and rejected *Maximilian*'s Daughter (a double and moſt intolerable Injury;) but ſuch a Kind of Peace, which is apparently diſſembled, cannot laſt long; for as it was ſaid by *Annius*, *Prætor* of the *Latins* to the *Romans*, *Pacem ſi bonam dederitis & fidelim, ſit perpetua, ſi malam, haud diuturna—A juſt and reaſonable Peace may hold and continue; but one obtained through wicked Practices can never laſt long.*

If a preſent Parley be propoſed, the Queſtion is, Who ſhall receive the greateſt Profit by the Ceſſation?

The King of *Spain* is now ſo poor, as he employed the *Jeſuits* to beg for him at every Church-door in *Spain*.

His Revenues are mortgaged in ſuch Sort, as of twenty-five Millions, he has but five Millions free; his Ships are worn out and conſumed, and his People in general exceeding poor.

He hath of late received many Affronts and Loſſes; and in *Peru*, many of the chiefeſt and beſt Towns are recovered from him by the Natives.

And commonly, when great Monarchies begin once in the leaſt to decline, their Diſſipation will ſoon follow after.

The *Spaniſh* Empire hath been greatly ſhaken, and hath begun of late Years to decline; and it is a Principle in Philoſophy, That *Omnis diminutio eſt preparatio ad corruptionem. That the leaſt Decay of any Part, is a fore-runner of the Deſtruction of the whole.*

And tho' it may be awhile upheld, as the State of *Rome* was by *Veſpaſian* and *Trajan*; yet following the the former Declination; *Retro ſtatim ſub-lapſafertur uſque dum plane ſubverſa fuit. It preſently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman State was utterly overthrown.*

But if now the King of *Spain* can obtain Peace upon any Condition reaſonable, ſo as he may fortify his Weak-

Weakneſs, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again ſufficient Riches, putting the *Engliſh* from the Exerciſe of War in thoſe Parts, and ſo make us to forget his *Indies*, till thoſe be conſumed that know them; he will ſoon grow to his former Greatneſs and Pride: And then, if your Majeſty ſhall leave the *Low-Countries*, and he find us by ourſelves, it will not be long e'er he remembers his old Practices and Attempts.

And your Majeſty having divers Nations, and divers Humours to content, he will not doubt to find a great Advantage by our neglecting the reformed *Netherlands* Abroad, and from the Hardſhips the Roman Catholicks complain of at Home.

Moreover, this Advantage the *Spaniſh* King ſhall ever have; that whenſoever they ſhall think fit to make a Pretence, they may find a Time, once a Year, to ſtay, and confiſcate a hundred Sail of our Merchants beſt Ships and Goods in his own Ports; and your Majeſty ſhall not find any of theirs in all *England*.

If then a Peace give him time to repair and fortify himſelf, and encreaſe his Treaſure, your Majeſty can have no Aſſurance, but that when he is repaired, he may take your Majeſty at all Advantages.

The King being a Catholick, and a Child of the Pope's, he can never in any Reſpect affect you, or any other Prince, or State of the reformed Religion.

It is very conſiderable, whether the Way of War, or the Way of Peace, were the Way of Safety, yea or no; eſpecially, as Peace may be dangerous, and the War profitable.

But for my own Opinion (which is little worth) I do conſent, that the *Netherlands* will not be drawn, without a moſt forcible Extremity, to yield themſelves to the *Spaniſh* King.

The King of *Spain* takes himſelf to be their Natural Lord; the Injury which he conceiveth hath been done him by the *Netherlands*, is an unquenchable Fire; for he hath been by them both waſted, prevented, and diſhonoured,

diſhonoured, and therefore it will be hard to perſwade theſe People to put their Necks under the *Spaniſh* Sword.

Marſhal *Montluc*, ſpeaking of the Death of *Caſtilian*, uſeth theſe Words, *Nous perdons l'entendement, ne ſongeans pas, que les Roix ont plus de cœur que nous, & qu'ils oublient plutoſt les ſervices que les offences. We muſt excuſe the Inconſiderateneſs of thoſe, who do not think, that Princes have a greater Heart and Stomach than we, and that they may forget a great many Services, but never one Injury.*

Francis the II. never forgot the Tumult at *Amboiſe*.

Charles the IX. the Enterprize at *Meaux*.

Richard the II. of *England*, the Earl of *Arundel*, who forced him to take the *Tower* for Refuge.

It is not very likely that a King of *Spain* will forget a Rebellion of thirty Years continuance; in which he hath ſpent One hundred Millions of Ducats, loſt ſo much Honour, and ſo many worthy Men; and if an Accommodation were agreed on, betwixt the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, yet I cannot believe, that the *Netherlands* will think themſelves ſecure upon any ſimple Agreement, but that they will ever ſtand upon their Guard.

And if the *Spaniſh* King ſhould require their Aſſiſtance (at any time after Compoſition) againſt this Kingdom, yet they would be well adviſed in this Point, knowing right well that *England* is the Rampire and Defence of their Eſtates, and cannot but believe, that although your Majeſty do not haſtily enter into a War for them, yet your Majeſty will always have an Eye to their Subſiſtence.

Furthermore, it will be very fearful to both Sides, how they may truſt one another in joint Forces; remembring this Precept, *Non utatur dux Militum opere nec perſona offenſi, That Generals muſt not take into their Service, the Perſons of thoſe that are diſguſted.*

Again, the States that have found the Sweet of Commanding, will not eaſily make themſelves Servants to

to the Will of another. And an Eſtate once eſtabliſh'd, is not changed but by Violence.

The States have moreover baniſh'd and put from them all their Nobility, but very few poor ones, and have ſhared all their Inheritance among them; therefore they know if they render themſelves to the *Spaniards*, thoſe great Perſons will be reſtor'd, and reveng'd; beſides, where the Religion is in Queſtion, when the *Spaniards* will ſtand on ſo many Points of Honour, and the *Netherlands* on ſo many Conditions of Safety, the Diſpute will not be ended in haſte.

It is true, that the *French* are moſt obſerv'd to concern themſelves, of all other, in this Affair; for both Count *Maurice*, and ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry that remain, are moſt addicted that Way.

France is already one of the greateſt Kingdoms in *Europe*, and our fartheſt Friend.

They know your Majeſty's Right to all, and to *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* without Diſpute.

Your Majeſty hath not now a Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Britain*, to aſſiſt you, as your Predeceſſors had; *France* hath all yours, and the Countries of *Provence*, *Anjou*, *Burgundy* itſelf, and a great Part of *Picardy* alſo; and your Majeſty not ſo much as *Calais*, or any Place of Strength of your own, on that Side, in your Poſſeſſion.

It may be ſaid, that your Majeſty ſhall have the Aſſiſtance of the numerous reformed *French*, if Need require; who are ſuppoſed to be Friends to *England*, becauſe Enemies to the *Roman-Catholicks*: And it may be to get themſelves good Conditions, theſe may move, they may agree for the Beginning, but not for the End: *Newhaven* may put your Majeſty in mind what may be hop'd from the *French*, of what Religion ſoever.

The Advantage which your Majeſty hath over the *French* is only in Shipping. If the *French* get the *Low-Countries*, that Advantage is alſo loſt.

And

And although it be probable, that the *Netherlands* will remember *Monſieur*'s Attempts upon *Antwerp*, *Dunkirk*, and other Places, after he was elected Duke of *Brabant*; yet I hope I ſhall never live to ſee the Day wherein the *French* ſhall be Maſters of the *Netherlands*, upon any Conditions; for they may ſerve the *French* to infinite Purpoſes, although they ſuffer them not to be abſolute in their Cities and fortify'd Places.

For if the Army or the States ſhall march on the one Side, and that of *France* on the other Side, the Arch-Duke will ſoon be cruſh'd between them; *France* having a good Title to *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c.

And then your Majeſty finding how dangerous it will be for yourſelf, to ſuffer *France* to be the Maſter of the *Netherlands*, and ſo many Ships, and to poſſeſs ſo many of the Inland Provinces withal, cannot, for your own Safety's ſake, aſſiſt the Arch-Duke; whereas by aſſiſting the *Netherlands*, your Majeſty might have made the War profitable, and by their Shipping commanded all the Trade in the World.

Then your Majeſty, by taking part with the Arch-Duke, ſhall but waſte yourſelf, and impoveriſh all your People and Commonwealth.

But your Majeſty well knowing, that *Conſiliis nulla res tam inimica eſt quam celeritas. That nothing is ſo great an Enemy to Counſel, as too much haſte*; will, as I think, be firſt reſolv'd, what the Eſtates will contribute towards the War upon *Spain* and the *Indies*.

Secondly, In what Places they will make the War in the *Low-Countries*; in *Flanders* or *Dunkirk*: That your Majeſty may thereby have equal Profit, and that your Majeſty's People be not ſpoiled as heretofore.

Thirdly, How your Majeſty ſhall be paid your great Debts already owing.

And *Laſtly*, How your Majeſty ſhall be aſſur'd both of the cautionary Towns, and of their Aſſiſtance for the future, when your Majeſty ſhall further enable them; ſeeing, by your Majeſty's late Goodneſs, they

are

are already made ſo forcible; that as you are either driven to defend them, or to fear them, ſo your Majeſty may in ſome Part be aſſured of their Dependence.

Your Majeſty will alſo underſtand how difficult a Thing it is to be aſſur'd of the *Spaniſh* King, and the Arch-Duke.

If you abandon the *Netherlands*, how to free your People from the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*, enlarge their Trades, and be ſecur'd not to have your Ships ſtayed in his Ports at his Pleaſure.

There are many Conſiderations which ought to forerun a War. *Poſſunt arma facile ſumi ſed eis ſumptis eorum difficilis eſt depoſitio.* *'Tis an eaſy Matter to take up Arms and go to War; but to carry it on with that Vigour and Succeſs as to obtain a happy Concluſion is exceeding hazardous and difficult.*

Your Majeſty will further know the Quantity of your Treaſure, and how a War may be as well ſupply'd as begun, *Prudens militum præfectus bellum ſine pecunia non conſtituat, quoniam ea ſi defuerit difficillimum eſt exercitum convenire, aut conventum conſervare. A prudent Prince will conſider his Treaſure and Revenues before he goes to war; for if Money be wanting, 'tis impoſſible to get an Army together; or when they are ſo, to preſerve them; for Money is the only Cord and Sinew that can draw Men into his Service, or keep them faſt when they are there: For Princes that think to be ſerved for nought, will have their Buſineſs come to nothing.*

There are many other Proviſions to be made towards a ſafe and honourable Management of a War, which are not ſo ſoon gather'd together. 'Tis in vain to expect to ſee a Workman build a Houſe before he hath Materials; *Nullum movendum eſt bellum niſi ad illud paratis neceſſariis. No body will engage in a War, before all Things neceſſary to ſupport and carry on that War be provided.*

The Affair is great, which your Majeſty is at preſent to conſider of, and the greateſt that ever King of

England had; for the Branches are many, and moſt weighty; the Eyes of all the World behold your Majeſty herein; and as your Majeſty ſhall deal like yourſelf, ſo ſhall your Majeſty be valu'd of all Nations: If any perſwade your Majeſty to paſs it over ſlightly, he is ignorant, and underſtands it not.

If any perſwade your Majeſty to a haſty Concluſion for either Part, I ſhould ſuſpect him to be more concern'd for his own, or ſome others, than for your Majeſty's Intereſt; and that he were partial to the one, or the other; for in every Particular that ſhall be handled, many Miſchiefs may be folded up, which will not appear at the firſt; and, on the contrary, much Honour and great Aſſurance of Advantage may be only viſible; *Sed quod interius malum tegunt principia, poſteriora produnt. But Evil then does us the moſt Miſchief, when it comes to us under the Maſk and Diſguiſe of Good; and the Effects of a ſecret and undiſcover'd Danger are, of all others, the moſt fatal.*

Firſt, in the Queſtion of leaving, or ſuccouring the *Netherlands*; Whether it ſhall be openly, or underhand, if at all; what Profit every way, and what Aſſurance may be gotten to your Majeſty by aiding them, and what Danger by leaving them.

If your Majeſty make Peace with *Spain*, what the Conditions ſhall be; and how your Majeſty ſhall be aſſured of their faithful Performance of them.

And theſe fold up in them many Conſiderations of no ſmall Conſequence; and I hope your Majeſty's prudent Determination for the Advantage of *England* and *Europe*, well make your Wiſdom ſo appear to the World, that it may be truly ſaid, *Quam mirabilis ſit Copula Sapientiæ cum Potentia: How admirable is the Conjunction of Wiſdom and Power.* And becauſe it is alſo true, that *Nulli unquam Deus omnia dedit. That God never endu'd any one Man with all Things*; your Majeſty muſt eaſe yourſelf in ſome Part by the Help of Council; for, *Sapientia argumentum in principe nullum majus,*

majus, quam ſapientum virorum conſilio uti. For a Prince to adhere to the Advice and Counſel of wiſe Men, is the greateſt Argument of his own Wiſdom.

For myſelf, becauſe I have preſum'd thus far upon Hope of your Majeſty's gracious Pardon, and favourable Acceptance, being the meaneſt and unworthieſt of all others, I can ſay but this, *Si le ſel un conſeil donne, Je n'en fais refus pour perſonne. If a Counſel appears good and ſeaſonable, it will not be refus'd for his Sake that gives it.*

I dare not write all I deſire; for I know not to whoſe Hands theſe may come; this I beſeech your Majeſty to know, that it proceedeth from an humble and faithful Heart, which your Majeſty cannot beat from the Love of your Royal Perſon and good Eſtate.

In this great Buſineſs God direct your Majeſty's Mind, *Agitur de Imperio Mundi. The Diſpute is no leſs than of the Government of the whole World, as to us.* When the Houſe is built, it is ill mending the Foundation thereof.

God hath ſo bleſt your Majeſty in the Situation of your Kingdoms, that the Growth of any of your neighbouring States depends upon your Majeſty's Election, whom you will aid and aſſiſt.

Your Majeſty may propound ſuch neceſſary Conditions, both to the States, and the *Spaniſh* Side, as your may break with either, upon the Grounds both of Honour and Reaſon.

Now no Man in this Caſe, can aſſure his Council, or undertake to give Judgment of the Succeſs; for, according to *Ariſtotle, Omnia quæ veniunt in conſultationem talia ſunt, qualia poſſint aliter accidere. Every thing that comes under Deliberation is of ſuch an uncertain Condition and Nature, that Things may happen quite different from what the wiſeſt Man could foreſee.*

But if your Majeſty be not affectionate to either Party, then, no doubt, but your Majeſty will follow

the Way which appeareth to be moſt ſafe, moſt profitable, and moſt honourable.

And whoſoever loveth your Majeſty, will not only wiſh it, but withal preſent the little Talent of his Knowledge therein; for, *non tantum qui mutat locum, ſed fugit qui ſe ſub ſilentio abſcondit. For he that will be ſilent when he might declare and publiſh what may prove uſeful to your Majeſty's Government, does as much decline your Service as he that flies your Kingdoms.*

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ORIGINAL

AND

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE

OF

Natural, Arbitrary, Neceſſary, and Unnatural WAR.

THE ordinary Theme and Argument of Hiſtory is War; which may be defined the Exerciſe of Violence under Sovereign Command, againſt Withſtanders: Force, Authority and Reſiſtance, being the eſſential Parts thereof. Violence limited by Authority, is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from Robbery, and the like Outrages; yet conſiſting in Relation towards others, it neceſſarily requires a Suppoſition of Reſiſtance; whereby the Force of War becomes different from the Violence inflicted upon Slaves, or yielding Malefactors. As for Arms, Diſcipline, and whatſoever elſe belongeth to the making of War proſperous, they are only conſiderable in their Degree of Perfection; ſince naked Savages fight-

ing diſorderly with Stones, by Appointment of their Commanders, may truly and abſolutely be ſaid to war. Nevertheleſs, 'tis true, that as the Beaſts are armed with fierce Teeth, Paws, Horns, and other bodily Inſtruments, of much Advantage againſt unweapon'd Men: So hath Reaſon taught Man to ſtrengthen his Hand with ſuch offenſive Arms, as no Creature elſe can well avoid, or poſſibly reſiſt. And it might ſeem happy if the Sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of Death, could be wholly employ'd in the Exerciſe of that lordly Rule which the Lord of all hath given to Mankind over the reſt of living Things. But ſince in human Reaſon there hath no Means been found of holding all Mankind at Peace within itſelf; 'tis needful that againſt the Wit and Subtilty of Man, we oppoſe not only the brute Force of our Bodies (wherein many Beaſts exceed us) but helping our Strength with Art and Wiſdom, ſtrive to excell our Enemies in thoſe Points, wherein Man is excellent over other Creatures.

The Neceſſity of War, which among human Actions, is the moſt lawleſs, hath ſome Kind of Affinity and near Reſemblance with the Neceſſity of Law: For there were no uſe either of War, or of Law, if every Man had Prudence to conceive how much of Right were due both to and from himſelf; and were withal ſo punctually juſt as to perform what he knows requiſite, and to reſt contented with his own: But ſeeing our Conveyances of Land cannot be made ſo ſtrong by any Skill of Lawyers, without Multiplicity of Clauſes and Proviſoes, that it may be ſecure from Contentions, Avarice, and the Malice of falſe ſeeming Juſtice; it is not to be wondred that the great Charter whereby God beſtow'd the whole Earth upon *Adam* *, and confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as brief in Words, as large in Effect, hath bred much Quarrel of Interpretation.

* *Gen.* Cap. 1. ver. 28.

Surely,

Surely, howſoever the Letter of that Donation may be unregarded by the moſt of Men; yet the Senſe thereof is ſo imprinted in their Hearts, and ſo paſſionately embrac'd by their greedy Deſires, as if every one laid claim for himſelf, unto that, which was conferr'd upon all.

This appear'd in the *Gauls* falling upon *Italy* under their Captain *Brennus*, who told the *Roman* Ambaſſador plainly, *That prevalent Arms were as good as any Title; and that valiant Men might account to be their own, as much as they could get: That theſe wanting Land wherewith to ſuſtain their People, and the* Tatienſes *having more than enough, it was their Meaning to take what they needed by ſtrong Hand, if it were not yielded quietly.*

Now if it be well affirm'd by Lawyers, that there is no taking of Poſſeſſion more juſt then in *Vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land uninhabited (as our Countrymen have lately done in the *Summer Iſlands*) then may it be inferr'd, that this Demand of the *Gauls* held more of Reaſon than could be diſcern'd at the firſt View.

For if the Title of Occupiers be good in Land unpeopled, why ſhould it be bad accounted, in a Country peopled over thinly? Should one Family, or one Thouſand hold Poſſeſſion of all the Southern undiſcover'd Continent, becauſe they had ſeated themſelves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the Streights of *Magellan?* Why might not then the like be done in *Afric*, in *Europe*, and in *Aſia?* If theſe were moſt abſurd to imagine, let then any Man's Wiſdom determine, by leſſening the Territory, and increaſing the Number of Inhabitants, what Proportion is requiſite to the peopling of a Region in ſuch manner, that the Land ſhall neither be too narrow for thoſe whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater Multitude? Until this can be concluded and agreed upon, one main and fundamental Cauſe of the moſt grievous War, that can be imagin'd, is not like to be taken from the Earth.

It was perhaps enough in Reaſon, to ſuccour with Victuals and other Helps a vaſt Multitude compell'd by Neceſſity to ſeek a new Seat, or to direct them to a Country able to receive them. But what ſhall perſwade a mighty Nation to travel ſo far by Land or Sea, over Mountains, Deſarts, and great Rivers with their Wives and Children, when they are (or think themſelves) powerful enough to ſerve themſelves nearer hand, and enforce others unto the Labour of ſuch a Journey: * I have briefly ſhewed in another Work, that the Miſeries accompanying this Kind of War, are moſt extreme: Foraſmuch, as the Invaders cannot otherwiſe be ſatisfy'd then by rooting out, or expelling the Nation upon whom they fall.

And altho' the Uncertainty of the Tenure, by which all worldly Things are held, miniſters very unpleaſant Meditation; yet it is moſt certain, that within 1200 Years laſt paſt, all, or the moſt part of Kingdoms to us known, have truly felt the Calamities of ſuch forcible Tranſplantations; being either overwhelm'd by new Colonies that fell upon them, or driven, as one Wave is driven by another, to ſeek new Seats, having loſt their own.

Our Weſtern Parts of *Europe*, indeed, have great Cauſe to rejoice, and give praiſe to God, for that we have been free above 600 Years from ſuch Inundations as were thoſe of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; yea, from ſuch as were thoſe of our own Anceſtors, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*: But howſoever we have, together with the Feeling, loſt the Memory of ſuch Wretchedneſs as our Forefathers endur'd by thoſe Wars (of all others the moſt cruel;) yet are there few Kingdoms in all *Aſia*, that have not been ruin'd by ſuch overflowing Multitudes within the ſame Space of theſe laſt 600 Years.

It were an endleſs Labour to tell, how the *Turks* and *Tartars*, falling like Locuſts upon that Quarter of

* *Gen.* Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2.

the

the World, having ſpoil'd every where, and in moſt Places eaten up all by the Roots, conſuming (together with the Princes formerly reigning, and a World of People) the very Names, Language, and Memory of former Times. Suffice it, that when any Country is overlaid by the Multitude which live upon it, there is a natural Neceſſity compelling it to diſburden itſelf, and lay the Load upon others, by Right, or Wrong; for (to omit the Danger of Peſtilence, often viſiting them which live in Throngs) there is no Miſery that urgeth Men ſo violently unto deſperate Courſes and Contempt of Death, as the Torments and Threats of Famine: Wherefore the War that is grounded upon this general remedileſs Neceſſity, may be termed, the general and remedileſs, or neceſſary War.

Againſt which, that our Country is better provided, as may be ſhewed hereafter, then any civil Nation to us known, we ought to hold it a great Bleſſing of God, and carefully retain the Advantages he hath given us.

Beſides, this remedileſs, or neceſſary War, which is not frequent, there is a War voluntary and cuſtomable, unto which the offended Party is not compell'd: And this cuſtomary War, which troubleth all the World, giveth little Reſpite or Breathing-time of Peace, and doth uſually borrow Pretence from the Neceſſity, to make itſelf appear more honeſt; for covetous Ambition thinking all too little which at preſent it hath, ſuppoſeth itſelf to ſtand in need of all which it hath not.

Wherefore, if two bordering Princes have their Territories meeting in an open Campaign, the more mighty will continually ſeek Occaſion to extend his Limits to the further Border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountains, they will fight for the Maſtery of the Paſſage of the Tops, and finally, for the Towns that ſtand upon the Roots.

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges; and think themſelves not well aſſur'd, until they have fortify'd the further Bank.

Yea,

Yea, the Sea itſelf muſt be very broad, barren of Fiſh, and void of little Iſlands interjacent, elſe will it yield plentiful Argument of Quarrel to the Kingdoms which it ſerveth: All this proceeds from Deſire of having; and ſuch Deſire, from Fear of Want.

Hereunto may be added, that in theſe Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found ſome ſmall Meaſure of Neceſſity, tho' it ſeldom be obſerv'd; perhaps, becauſe it extendeth not ſo far as to become publick: for where many younger Sons, of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor Means to uphold themſelves; and where many Men of Trade, or uſeful Profeſſion, know not how to beſtow themſelves for lack of Employ, there can it not be avoided, but that the whole Body of the State (howſoever otherwiſe healthfully diſpos'd) ſhould ſuffer Anguiſh by the Grievance of theſe ill-affected Members.

It ſufficeth not that the Country hath wherewith to ſuſtain even more than lives upon it, if Means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient Participation of the general Store into a great Number of well Deſervers.

In ſuch Caſes there will be Complaining, Commiſeration, and finally Murmur (as Men are apt to lay the Blame of thoſe Evils whereof they know not the Ground upon publick Miſgovernment) unleſs Order be taken for ſome Redreſs by the Sword, of Injury ſuppos'd to be done by Foreigners; whereto the diſcontented Sort give commonly a willing Ear: And in this Regard, I think it was, that the great Cardinal, *Francis de Amiens*, who govern'd *Spain* in the Minority of *Charles* V. hearing tell, that 8000 *Spaniards* were loſt in the Enterpriſe of *Algiers*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the Matter, affirming, *That* Spain *ſtood in Need of ſuch Evacuations.* Foriegn War ſerving (as King *Ferdinand* had wont ſo ſay) *like a Potion of Rhubarb, to waſte away Choler from the Body of the Realm.*

Certainly,

Certainly, among all Kingdoms of the Earth, we ſhall ſcarce find any that ſtand in leſs Need than *Spain* of having the Veins open'd by an Enemy's Sword; the many Colonies it ſends abroad, ſo well preſerving it from ſwelling Humours: yet is not that Country thereby diſpeopled; but maintaineth ſtill growing upon it (like a Tree from whom Plants have been taken to fill whole Orchards) as many as it can well nouriſh.

And to ſay what I think; if our King *Edward* III. had proſpered in his *French* Wars, and peopled with *Engliſh* the Towns which he won, as he began at *Calais*, driving out the *French*; the Kings (as his Succeſſors) holding the ſame Courſe, would by this Time have filled all *France* with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Iſland.

The like may be affirm'd upon like Suſpicion, of the *French* in *Italy*, or almoſt of any others; as having been verify'd by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbary*: What is then become of ſo huge a Multitude, as would have overſpread a great Part of the Continent? Surely, they died not of Old-age, nor went out of the World by the ordinary Ways of Nature; but Famine and contagious Diſtempers, the Sword, the Halter, and a thouſand Miſchiefs have conſum'd them. Yea, of many of them, perhaps, Children were never born; for they that want Means to nouriſh Children, will abſtain from Marriage; or (which is all one) they caſt away their Bodies upon rich old Women; or otherwiſe make unequal or unhealthy Matches for Gain; or becauſe of Poverty, they think it a Bleſſing, which in Nature is a Curſe, to have their Wives barren.

Were it not thus, Arithmetical Progreſſion might eaſily demonſtrate how faſt Mankind would increaſe in Multitude, overpaſſing (as miraculous, tho' indeed natural) the Examples of the *Iſraelites*, who were multiplied in 215 Years from 70, unto 600000 able Men. Hence we may obſerve, that the very Progreſſion of

our

our Kind, hath with it a ſtrong Incentive even of thoſe daily Wars which afflict the whole Earth. And that Princes excuſing their drawing the Sword, by deviſed Pretences of Neceſſity, ſpeak often more truly than they are aware; there being indeed a great Neceſſity, tho' not apparent, as not extending to the Generality, but reſting upon private Heads.

Wherefore other Cauſe of War, merely natural, there is none: The Want of Room upon the Earth, which pincheth the whole Nation, begets the remedileſs War; vexing only ſome Number of Particulars, it draws on the Arbitrary. But to the kindling of Arbitrary War there are many other Motives. The moſt honeſt of theſe is Fear of Harm, and Prevention of Danger; this is juſt, and taught by Nature, which labours more ſtrongly in removing Evil, than in Purſuit of what is requiſite unto Good: Nevertheleſs, becauſe War cannot be without natural Violence, it is manifeſt, that Allegation of Danger, and Fear, ſerves only to excuſe the ſuffering Party, the Wrong-doer being carry'd by his own Will; ſo that War thus cauſed proceeds from Nature not altogether, but in Part.

A ſecond Motive, is Revenge of Injury ſuſtain'd. This might be avoided, if all Men could be honeſt, otherwiſe not; for Princes muſt give Protection to their Subjects and Adherents, when worthy Occaſion ſhall require it, elſe they will be held unworthy and inſufficient; than which, there can be to them no greater Peril.

Wherefore *Cæſar*, in all Deliberations where Difficulties and Dangers threatned on one Side, and the Opinion that there ſhould be in him *parum præſidii*, little Safeguard for his Friends, was doubted on the other Side, always choſe rather to venture upon Extremities, than to have it thought that he was a weak Protector: Yea, by ſuch Maintenance of their Dependants, many Noblemen, in all Forms of Government, and within every Man's Memory, have kept themſelves

ſelves in Greatneſs with little Help of any other Virtue.

Neither have mere Tyrants been altogether careleſs to maintain, free from Oppreſſion of Strangers, thoſe Subjects of theirs, whom themſelves have moſt baſely eſteem'd, and uſed as no better than Slaves; for there is no Maſter that can expect good Service from his Bond-ſlaves, if he ſuffers them to be beaten, and daily ill-treated by other Men. To remedy this, it were needful that Juſtice ſhould every where be duly adminiſtred, as well to Strangers as to Denizens. But contrariwiſe, we find, that in many Countries (as *Muſcovy*, and the like) the Laws, or Adminiſtration of them, is ſo far from giving Satisfaction to Strangers, as they fill the general Voice of them with Complaints and Exclamations.

Sir *Thomas Moor* ſaid, (whether more pleaſantly or truly, I know not) *That a Trick of Law had no leſs Power than the Wheel of Fortune, to lift Men up, or to caſt them down.*

Certainly, with more Patience Men are wont to endure the Loſs that befel them by mere Caſualty, than the Damage they ſuſtain by Means of Injuſtice, becauſe theſe are accompanied with Senſe of Indignity, whereof the other are free. When Robbers break into Mens Houſes and ſpoil them, they tell the Owners plainly, That Money they want, and Money they muſt have. But when a Judge, corrupted by Reward, Hatred, Favour, or any other Paſſion, takes both Houſe and Land from the rightful Owner, and beſtows them upon ſome Friend of his own, or his Favorite, he ſays, That the Rule of Juſtice will have it ſo; that it is the Voice of the Law, and Ordinance of God himſelf: And what elſe herein doth he, than, by a Kind of Circumlocution, tell his humble Suppliants, that he holds them Ideots, or baſe Wretches, not able to get Relief? Muſt it not aſtoniſh, and withal vex any Man of a free Spirit, when he ſees none other Difference

Difference between the Judge and the Thief, than in the Manner of performing of their Exploits; as if the whole Being of Juſtice conſiſted in Point of Formality? In ſuch Caſe, an honeſt Subject will either ſeek Remedy by ordinary Courſes, or wait his Time, till God ſhall place better Men in Office, and call the Oppreſſors to Account. But a Stranger will not do ſo; he hath nothing to do with the Affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him, what Officers be placed or diſplaced in *Taradante*; or whether *Muliſidian* himſelf can contain the Kingdom; his Ship and Goods are unjuſtly taken from him; and therefore he will ſeek leave to right himſelf if he can, and return the Injury ten-fold upon the whole Nation from which he received it. Truth is, that Men are ſooner weary to dance Attendance at the Gates of foreign Lords, than to tarry the good Leiſure of their own Magiſtrates; nor do they bear ſo quietly the Loſs of ſome Parcel confiſcate abroad, as the greater Detriment which they ſuffer by ſome prowling Vice-Admiral, Cuſtomer, or publick Miniſter at their return.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which ſome Men yield to their Governors, I will not define; or whether Exceſs of Trouble in following their Cauſes from Home; or whether from Deſpair of ſuch Redreſs as may be expected in their own Country, in the hoped Reformation of Diſorders; or whether from their more Unwillingneſs to diſturb the domeſtical, than the foreign Quiet by loud Exclaimings; or whether, perhaps, their not daring to mutter againſt their own Rulers for Injuſtice (tho' it were ſhameful) for fear of faring worſe, and for being puniſh'd for *Scandalum magnatum*, as Scandalers of Men in Authority: Whenceſoever it comes, as there can be but one Allegiance, ſo Men are apt to ſerve no more than they needs muſt; according to that of the Slave, in the old Comedy, *Non ſum ſervus publicus. My Maſter bought me for himſelf; and I am not every Man's Man.* And this Opinion, there is

no

no Prince unwilling to maintain in his own Subjects; yea, ſuch as are moſt rigorous to their own, do never find it ſafe to be better unto Strangers; becauſe it were a Matter of dangerous Conſequence, that the People ſhould think all other Nations to be in a better Caſe than themſelves.

The Brief is, Oppreſſion, in many Places, wears the Robe of Juſtice, which domineering over the Natives, may not ſpare Strangers; and Strangers will not endure, but cry out unto their own Lords for Relief by the Sword. Wherefore this Motive of revenging Injuries is very ſtrong, tho' it merely conſiſt in the Will of Man, without any Enforcement of Nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is uſually concurring with it a hopeful Expectation of Gain; for of the Amends recover'd, little or nothing returns to thoſe that have ſuffer'd the Wrong; but commonly all runs into the Prince's Coffers.

Such Examples as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth* *, of famous Memory, are very rare: Her Majeſty, when the Goods of our *Engliſh* Merchants were attack'd by the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, and by King *Philip* in *Spain*, arreſted likewiſe the Goods of the *Low-Dutch*, here in *England*, that amounted to a greater Value: Neither was ſhe contented that her Subjects ſhould right themſelves, as well as they could upon the *Spaniards* by Sea; but having brought King *Philip* within 4 or 5 Years † to better Reaſon, tho' not ſo far as to Reſtitution, ſhe ſatisfy'd her own Merchants to the full for all their Loſſes, out of the *Dutchmens* Goods, and gave back to the Duke what was remaining.

This, among many Thouſands of her royal Deeds, made her glorious in all Nations; but tho' it cauſed even Strangers, in their Speeches and Writings, to extol her Princely Juſtice to the Skies, yet ſerved it not for a Preſident for others of leſs Virtue to follow.

* Anno 1569. † Anno 1573.

It

It were more coſtly to take Pattern from thoſe Acts which gave immortal Renown to that great Queen, than to imitate the thrifty Dealing of that *Spaniſh* Duke in the ſelf-ſame Buſineſs, who kept all to his own Uſe, or his Maſter's, reſtoring to the poor *Dutch* Merchants not one Penny. It falls out many Times indeed, that a Prince is driven to ſpend far more of his Treaſure in puniſhing by War the Wrongs of his People, than the Loſs of his People do amount unto. In ſuch Caſes, it is Reaſon that he ſatisfy himſelf, and let the People (whereto commonly they are apt) reſt contented with the Sweetneſs of Revenge.

But when Victory makes large amends for all, it royally becomes a Prince to ſatisfy thoſe, for whoſe Satisfaction he undertook the War: Far beſides the Purpoſe it were now, to teach how Victory ſhould be uſed; or the Gains thereof communicated to the general Content; this being only brought in to ſhew, that the Profit thereby gotten, is a ſtrong Provocation to the Redreſs of Injuries by the Sword.

As for the Redreſs of Injuries done unto Princes themſelves, it may conveniently (tho' not always, for it were miſerable Injuſtice to deny leave to Princes of maintaining their Honour) be reſerv'd unto the third Motive of Arbitrary Wars, which is mere Ambition.

This is, and ever hath been the true Cauſe of more Wars, than have troubled the World upon all other Occaſions whatſoever; tho' it leaſt partake of Nature, and urgent Neceſſity of State. I call not here alone by the Name of Ambition, that vain-glorious Humour, which openly profeſſeth to be none other, and vaunts itſelf as an imperial Virtue; for the Examples are not many of that Kind: But where Occaſion of War is greedily ſought, or being very ſlight is gladly entertain'd, (for that Increaſe of Dominion is hoped thereby) we ſhould rather impute the War to the Scope at which it aimeth, than to any idle Cauſe pretended.

The

The *Romans* feared, leſt they of *Carthage*, by winning *Meſſina*, ſhould ſoon get the Maſtery over all *Sicily*, and have a fair Entrance at Pleaſure into *Italy*; which to prevent, they made war upon the *Carthaginians:* This Fear I call Ambition; had they not truſted in their own Arms, hoping thereby to enlarge their Empire, but been weaker, and more afraid indeed, they would have feared leſs.

For Colour of this War, they took the *Mamertines*, a Crew of Thieves and Cut-throats, into their Protection, whom being their Aſſociates, they muſt needs defend; but had not their Ambition been mightier than their Juſtice, they would have endeavour'd to puniſh the *Mamertines*, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like Examples; *Know ye not* (ſaid *Ahab*) *that* Ramoth-gilead *is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till Opinion of his Forces made him look unto his Right: And of this Nature (tho' ſome worſe than other in Degree) are Claims of old forgotten Tribute; or of ſome Acknowledgments, due perhaps, to the Anceſtors of a vanquiſh'd King, and long after challeng'd by the Heirs of the Conqueror. Broken Titles to Kingdoms or Provinces, Maintenance of Friends and Partizans, pretended Wrongs, and indeed whatſoever it pleaſeth him to alledge, that thinks his own Sword ſharpeſt. But of old Time, perhaps, before *Helen* of *Greece* was born, Women have been the common Argument of theſe Tragedies; as of late Ages in our Parts of the World, ſince the Names of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibelines* were heard, the Rights of St. *Peter*, that is, the Pope's Revenues and Authority: This laſt, and others of the ſame Kind, I know not how patiently they will endure to be ranged amongſt ambitious Quarrellers; for the War that hath ſuch Foundations, will not only be imputed free from worldly Ambition, juſt and honourable, but holy and meritorious, having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Releaſe from Purgatory, and the Pro-

miſe of the Life to come, as may be ſeen in the Pope's *Croiſada*.

The Truth is, that the *Saracens* affirm no leſs of the Wars which they make againſt Chriſtians, or which ariſe betwixt themſelves from Difference of Sect; and if every Man had his Due, I think, that the Honour of deviſing firſt this Doctrine, (*viz.* That Religion ought to be enforced upon Men by the Sword) would be found appertaining to *Mahomet* the falſe Prophet. Sure it is, that he, and the *Caliphs* following him, obtained thereby, in ſhort Space, a mighty Empire, which was in a fair Way to have enlarged itſelf, until they fell out amongſt themſelves; not for the Kingdom of Heaven, but for Dominion upon Earth: And againſt this did the Popes, when their Authority grew powerful in the *Weſt*, incite the Princes of *Germany*, *England*, *France*, and *Italy*; their chief Enterprize was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, in which worthy, but extreme difficult Action, it is lamentable to remember, what abundance of noble Blood hath been ſhed, with very ſmall Benefit to the Chriſtian State.

The Recovery of *Spain*, whereof the better Part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*, had been a Work more available to the Men of *Europe*, more eaſily maintained with Supply, more aptly ſerving to advance any following Enterprize upon Kingdoms further removed, more free from Hazard, and requiring leſs Expence of Blood; but the honourable Piety of the Undertakers could not be terrified by the Face of Danger, nor diverted from this, to a more commodious Buſineſs, by any Motives of Profit or Facility; for the Pulpit did ſound in every Church with the Praiſes of that Voyage; as it were a Matter far leſs highly pleaſing unto God, to bear Arms for Defence of his Truth againſt Perſecutors, or for the Deliverance of poor Chriſtians oppreſſed with Slavery, than to fight for that ſelf-ſame Land wherein our Bleſſed Saviour was born and died. By ſuch Perſuaſions, a marvellous Number

Number were excited to the Conqueſt of *Paleſtine*, which with ſingular Virtue they performed, tho' not without exceeding great Loſs of Men, and held that Kingdom ſome few Generations.

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far Diſtance from the Strength of Chriſtendom, and the near Neighbourhood of thoſe who were the moſt puiſſant amongſt the *Mahometans*, cauſed that famous Enterprize, after a long Continuance of a terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The Care of *Jeruſalem* being laid aſide, it was many Times thought needful to repreſs the growing Power of the *Turk*, by the joint Forces of all the Chriſtian Kings and Commonwealths; and hereto the Popes have uſed much Perſuaſions, and often publiſhed in their *Croiſada*, Pardon of Sins to all that would adventure in a Work ſo religious, yet have they effected little or nothing, and leſs perhaps are ever like to do; for it hath been their Cuſtom ſo ſhamefully to miſuſe the fervent Zeal of Men to religious Arms, by converting the Monies which they have levied for ſuch Wars to their own Services, and by ſtirring up Chriſtians one againſt another; yea, againſt their own natural Princes, under the like Pretence of ſerving God and the Church; that finally, Men waxed weary of their turbulent Spirits, and would not believe that God was careful to maintain the Pope in his Quarrels, or that Remiſſion of Sins paſt was to be obtained, by committing more and more grievous, at the Inſtigation of his ſuſpected Holineſs.

Queſtionleſs, there was great Reaſon why all diſcreet Princes ſhould beware of yielding haſty Belief to the Robes of Sanctimony.

It was the Rule of our Bleſſed Saviour, *By their Works ye ſhall know them:* What the Works of thoſe that occupy the Papacy have been ſince the Days of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*, who firſt enabled them with temporal Donation, the *Italian* Writers have teſtified

at large. Yet were it needleſs to recite *Machiavel* who hath recorded their Doings, and is therefore the more hateful; or *Guicciardin*, whoſe Works they have guelded, as not enduring to hear all that he hath written; though he ſpake enough in that which remains. What Hiſtory ſhall we read (except the Annals of *Ceſar Baronius*, and ſome Books of Friars and frierly Paraſites) which mentioning their Acts, doth not leave Witneſſes of their ungodly Dealings in all Quarters?

How few Kingdoms are there (if any) wherein, by diſpenſing with Oaths, transferring the Right of Crowns, abſolving Subjects from Allegiance, and Curſing, and threatning to curſe, ſo long as their Curſes were regarded, they have not wrought unprofitable Miſchiefs? The ſhameleſs Denial hereof by ſome of their Friends, and the more ſhameleſs Juſtification by their Flatterers, makes it needful to exemplify, which I had rather forbear, as not loving to deal in ſuch contentious Arguments, were it not Folly to be modeſt in uttering what is known to all the World. Pity it is, that by ſuch Demeanor they have cauſed the Church (as *Hierom Savanarolla*, and before him, *Robert Groſthead* Bp. of *Lincoln* propheſy'd) to be propagated by the Sword; but God would have it ſo.

How far the Pope's Bleſſing did ſanctify the Enterprize upon *Jeruſalem*, it reſts in every Man's Diſcretion to judge.

And for the honourable Chriſtians which undertook that Conqueſt, to juſtify their War, they had not only the Redreſs of Injuries, and Protection of their oppreſſed Brethren, but the repelling of Danger from their own Land, threatned by thoſe Miſbelievers whom they invaded.

If the Pope's Extortions (which were not more forcible than thoſe of *Peter* the Hermit's) added Spirit unto the Action, yet alter'd they not the Grounds of the War, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of Pope *Leo* the tenth bear Witneſs of this, who

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out of politick Fear of the *Turks* Violence, urged a religious Contribution towards a War to be made upon them; the Neceſſity of that which he propounded was greater, doubtleſs, than any that had perſuaded the Conqueſt of *Paleſtine*.

But too foul and manifeſt was the Unholineſs of obtruding upon Men Remiſſion of Sins for Money; and the Sums which Pope *Leo* thereby raiſed and converted to his own Uſe, have made his Succeſſors Loſers by the Bargain, even to this Day.

Pope *Pius* II. formerly well known by the Name of *Æneus Sylvius*, was deſervedly reckoned amongſt the few good Popes of latter Ages; who nevertheleſs in a War of the ſame religious Nature, diſcovered the like (tho' not the ſame) Imperfection. His Purpoſe was to ſet upon *Mahomet* the Great, who had newly won the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, and by carrying the War over into *Greece*, to prevent the Danger threatning *Italy*.

In this Action, highly commendable, he intended to hazard his own Perſon, that ſo the more eaſily he might win Adventurers, who elſe were like to be leſs forward, as not unacquainted with ſuch *Romiſh* Tricks; yet was not his own Devotion ſo zealous in Purſuit of this holy Buſineſs, but that he would ſtay a while, and convert his Forces againſt *Malateſta*, a Lord of *Rimini*; letting *Scanderberg* wait his Leiſure, who had already ſet the War on foot in *Greece*; For (ſaid he) *We muſt firſt ſubdue the Little* Turk, *before we meddle with the Great*. He ſpake Reaſon, if we regard Policy, but attending only to Religion, find we not that he held the Chaſtiſement of one which moleſted the See of *Rome*, alike pleaſing to God, as would have been the Holy War againſt the common Enemy of our Chriſtian Faith; ſo thought all the reſt of thoſe Biſhops, and ſo much more (upon their ſeveral Occaſions) declare themſelves to think it, by how much they commonly were worſe Men than this *Æneas Sylvius*. And good Reaſon was there that they ſhould be of ſuch Belief, or

endeavour to make the Chriſtian World believe no otherwiſe, for the natural Conſtitution of their Eſtate (I mean ſince the Age of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*, or the Times not long before-going) hath urged them all hitherto; tho' peradventure ſome few Popes may have been over-ruled by their own private Nature, and thereby have ſwerved from the Rule of Policy.

To ſpeak in general, whoſoever hath Dominion abſolute over ſome one Authority; leſs abſolute over many more, will ſeek to draw thoſe that are not wholly his own into intire Subjection.

It fares with politick Bodies, as with phyſical; each would convert all into their own proper Subſtance, and caſt forth as Excrements what will not be changed.

We need not cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perſeus*, Kings of *Macedon*, for Examples; of which the former brought the *Theſſalonians*, the latter would have brought the *Achaians*, and many Eſtates in *Greece* from the Condition of Followers and Dependents, into mere Vaſſalage.

Philip II. of *Spain* is yet freſh in Mind, who attempted the ſelf-ſame upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here againſt this, out of the honeſt, quiet, or timorous Diſpoſition of ſome Princes; yet that all, or the moſt, are thus inclined, both Reaſon and Experience teach; yea, even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, ſuch as need the Protection of great Men, complain otherwhiles of their Patrons over-much Diligence, either in ſearching into their private Eſtates, or behaving themſelves Maſterlike in Point of Government. But never hath Authority better Means to enlarge itſelf, than when it is founded upon Devotion: And yet never doth Authority of this Kind work to raiſe itſelf upon mere Dominion, until it fall into the Hands of thoſe, whoſe Piety is more in ſeeming than in Deed.

The Levitical Prieſts, in the old Law, never arrogated unto themſelves any Temporal or Coercive Power, nor advanced their Mitres againſt the Crown of *Iſrael*.

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They well underſtood what Authority God had committed unto them, and reſted therewithal content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late, the Pope's Flatterers labouring to prove, that the High Prieſts of old were not ſubject to the Kings of *Judah*; and Men of better Spirit and Learning have ſhewed them the contrary.

But whatſoever befel in thoſe Days when there was no King in *Iſrael*, that is, before the Reign of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, ſure it is, that the Sons of *Aaron* were always obedient to the Sons of *David*, and acknowledged them their Lords.

As for the Race of the *Maccabees*, that held both the Kingdom and the Prieſthood at once, it falls not within this Conſideration. The firſt thereof (of whom I read) that uſed the Advantage of Honour given him in Matter of Religion, towards the getting of Temporal Poſſeſſions, was (if not *Mahomet* himſelf) *Abubeker* the Succeſſor unto *Mahomet*: This Man having obtained, by the Help of Friends, the miſerable Happineſs of being choſen Heir unto the foul Impoſtor in his Dignity of Prophet, made it one of his firſt Works to deſpoil poor *Aliffe* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and Heir of his great Riches, taking all from him by this Pretence, That to whom belonged the Succeſſion in Wiſdom, to him alſo belonged the Succeſſion in Wealth: And this grew preſently to be a famous Queſtion among the Doctors of the *Saracen* Law. But however it were then decided, we ſee how the Mufti, or High Prelate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turks* in ſpiritual Matters, lives, and holds all that he hath at the Diſcretion of the great Sultan. Nevertheleſs, it ſhould ſeem that the Doctrine of *Abubeker* hath not loſt all Force; for the Examples are many in all *Sarazens* Lands, of Prophets or Decemors, who having got that Name, never reſted until they became Kings.

The *Seriffo* in *Barbary* was one of the laſt, who having once acquired the Opinion of a Holy Man, after-

wards found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a ſmall Territory; and finally, increaſed his Followers, and withal his Bounds, ſo faſt, and ſo far, as having made himſelf King of *Morocco*, he had the Grace to tell the King of *Fez* (lately his Sovereign) that both *Fez*, and all the Kingdoms of thoſe Parts were belonging to his own Holineſs: And this he made good by winning all ſoon after.

Whether the Claim which the Popes lay to the Supremacy over all Kingdoms and Eſtates had not Affinity with the Doctrine of *Abubeker*, let other Men judge. That their Practices to maintain it have been ſuitable to thoſe of the *Seriffe*, all Hiſtories do verify.

For when Pope *Gregory* II. procured the City of *Rome*, and ſome other Places in *Italy*, to rebel againſt the Emperor *Leo* III. what other Colour uſed he, than that he himſelf had excommunicated *Leo*, as an ungodly Prince, for breaking down Images that were worſhipped in Churches; when for this Reaſon (*Paul* the *Exarch*) Lieutenant unto the Emperor beſieged *Rome*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*? By what other Art did the Pope remove the Siege, than by perſuading the *Lombards* with a Tale of *Peter* and *Paul*, that had conſecrated the City of *Rome* with their precious Blood? Thus was Devotion made the Cloak for Treaſon, and thus did the Popes firſt ſlip their Necks out of the Emperor's Collar.

Within very few Years after this, by the like religious Pretext, were thoſe Princes of *France*, *Charles Martel*, *Pepin*, and *Charlemaign*, won to aſſiſt the Papacy againſt the *Lombards*; yea, to give unto St. *Peter* the moſt Part of thoſe Lands which the Pope now holds in *Italy*, and not reſtore them to the Emperor, from whom the *Lombards* had gotten them; and thereunto *Pepin* was perſuaded for his Soul's Health.

Yet had Pope *Zacbary*, through the Opinion that went of his Holineſs, done a notable good Office for *Pepin* before, when he releaſed the *Frenchmen* of their Oath

Oath to King *Chilperick*, and was the Cauſe that *Pepin* was choſen in his ſtead, by ſaying, That rather he ſhould be King, who did the King's Duty, than he who did it not.

In like Manner did Pope *Leo* recompence the Benefits of *Charlemaign*, by ſetting him up as Emperor in the *Weſt* againſt thoſe of *Conſtantinople*. But in theſe mutual Offices the Biſhops did only help, with grateful Words, to adorn that Might which *Pepin* and *Charlemaign* had before acquired, whereas thoſe Kings uſed Force of Arms to erect the *Papacy* into a Principality, that was yet held in a Vaſſalage unto themſelves.

Now this could not ſatisfy the Ambition of that See, which gloried falſely to be the Holy See Apoſtolic: For as the Reputation of the *Roman* Prelates grew up in thoſe blind Ages, under the Weſtern Emperors, much faſter than true Piety could cauſe it in former Times, when better Learning had flouriſhed; ſo grew up in them withal a Deſire of amplifying their Power, that they might be as great in Temporal Forces, as Men's Opinions had formed them in Spiritual Matters. Immediately therefore, upon the Death of *Charlemaign*, they began to neglect the Emperor's Conſent in their Elections; and finding in them that afterwards reigned of the Houſe of *France*, either too much Patience, or too much Weakneſs, they were bold, within ſeventy Years, to decree, That in the Creation of Popes the Emperor ſhould have nothing at all to do. Having obtained this, it followed, that they ſhould make themſelves Lords over the whole Clergy in all Kingdoms.

But the Work was great, and could not be accompliſh'd in haſte; for they were much diſturbed at home with the People of *Rome*, who ſeeing about fifty Popes, or rather Maintainers of Papacy, would now have them called *Monſters of St.* Per's *Chair*, deſpiſing that Hypocriſy which the World abroad did reverence as Holineſs.

Likewiſe the Empire falling from the Line of *Charlemaign* to the mighty Houſe of *Saxony*, was ſo ſtrongly upheld

upheld by the firſt Princes of that Race, as it greatly troubled the Ambition of thoſe aſpiring Spirits of Prelates. Yet no Impediment could always be forced to withſtand the Violence of ſo ſeeming Sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and ſome other far remote Nations, had yielded themſelves in Subjection, more than merely Spiritual, even to thoſe Popes whom *Italy* knew to be deteſtable Men.

As for the *Roman* Citizens, they were chaſtiſed by the Sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what Right; long it was, indeed, ere they could (with much ado) be throughly tamed; becauſe they knowing the Lewdneſs of their Prelates and this Court, the Devotion unto him (the Trade by which now they live) was very ſmall; becauſe alſo they were the Pope's domeſtic Forces, againſt which no Prince did happily contend: But finally, the Pope's Arms prevailed, or when his own were too weak, the Emperor's, or other Princes. The Sword of the People, even of their own Subjects, hath been uſed, by teaching all Chriſtians in our weſtern World a falſe Leſſon, *viz.* That it is lawful and meritorious to rebel againſt Kings excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope. This Curſe was firſt laid upon the Emperor *Henry* IV. by Pope *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory* VII. It is true that I ſaid before, that *Leo* of *Conſtantinople* had felt the ſame, though not in the ſame ſort; for *Leo* being excommunicated, was not withal depoſed only, but ſuffered a Revolt of ſome *Italian* Subjects; and one may ſay that the *German* Emperor deſerv'd this Plague, ſince the Founder thereof had given Countenance to the Popes rebelling againſt their Sovereigns, the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*: Howſoever it were, when *Hildebrand* had accurſed, and caſt down from his Throne, *Henry* IV. there was none ſo hardy as to defend their injured Lord againſt the counterfeit Name of St. *Peter*; wherefore he was fain to humble himſelf before *Hildebrand*; upon whom he waited three Days

Days barefoot in the Winter, ere he could be admitted into his Preſence; neither yet could he otherwiſe get Abſolution, than by ſubmitting his Eſtate unto the Pope's good Pleaſure. What was his Fault? He had refuſed to yield up to the Pope the Inveſtiture of Biſhops, and Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities within his Dominions; a Right that had always belonged unto Princes until that Day. It were ſuperfluous to tell how grievouſly he was afflicted all his Life after, notwithſtanding his Submiſſion. In brief, the unappeaſeable Rage of *Hildebrand*, and his Succeſſors, never left perſecuting him, by raiſing one Rebellion after another: Yea, his own Children roſe up againſt him; till deſpoiled of his Crown, he was fain to beg Food of the Biſhop of *Spires*, promiſing to earn it in a Church of his own building, by doing there a Clerk's Duty, for he would ſerve the Choir; and not obtaining this, he pined away and died.

That Biſhop of *Spires* dealt herein, perhaps, rather fearfully than cruelly; for he had to terrify him the Example of *Vitello*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, chief Prelate among the *Germans*, who was condemned of Hereſy, having deny'd that the Emperor might be deprived of his Crown by the Pope's Authority.

If Princes therefore be careful to exclude the Doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their Dominions, who can blame them of Rigour. This Example of *Hildebrand*, though it could not have been forgot, might have been omitted, had it not been ſeconded with many of the ſame Nature: But this was neither one Pope's Fault, nor one Prince's Deſtiny. He muſt write a Story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their Dealings in this Kind; as how he wrought upon *Henry* V. whom they had ſet up againſt his Father; what horrible Effuſion of Blood they cauſed by their often thundering upon *Frederick*, and how they reſted not till they had made the Empire headleſs about ſeventeen Years together.

Thoſe

Thoſe Things moved *Rodolph* Earl of *Hapſpurg*, who was choſen Emperor after that long Vacation, to refuſe the Ceremony of being crowned at *Rome*, though he were thereto urged by the Electors; for (ſaid he) our *Cæſars* have gone to *Rome* as the fooliſh Beaſts in *Æſop*'s Fables went to the Lion's Den, leaving very goodly Footſteps of their Journey thitherwards, but not the like of their Return.

The ſame Opinion moſt of the ſucceeding Emperors held, or almoſt all, neglecting the *Roman* Coronation; good Cauſe why, ſince the Popes (beſides many Extortions which they practiſed about that Ceremony) arrogated thence unto themſelves, that the Empire was held of them in Homage; and dealt they not after the ſame Faſhion with other Kingdoms?

What Right had St. *Peter* to the Crowns of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Roman* Princes won thoſe Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Conſtantinople*: The ſame *Romans* had alſo been mighty Defenders of the Papacy in many Dangers; yet when Time ſerved, the Pope took upon him as Lord paramount of thoſe Countries, to drive out one King and ſet up another, with a bloody Confuſion of all *Italy*, retaining the Sovereignty to himſelf.

In *France* he had the Daring to pronounce himſelf ſuperior to the King in all Matters, both Temporal and Spiritual.

The Crown of *Poland* he forced to hold of his Mitre, by impoſing a Subjection in way of Penance, for that the *Poliſh* King had cauſed one St. *Staniſlaus* to be ſlain.

For the Death of St. *Thomas Becket*, and (more ſtrangely) for a Refuſal of an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom his Holineſs had appointed, he impoſed the like Penance upon *England*.

Alſo when our King *Edward* I. made War upon the *Scots*, Word came from *Rome*, that he ſhould ſurceaſe,

ceaſe, for that the Kingdom of *Scotland* belonged to the Pope's Chapel.

A great Overſight it was of St. *Peter*, that he did not accurſe *Nero*, and all Heathen Princes, whereby the Pope's Chapel ought to have gotten all that the Devil offered, and our Saviour Chriſt refuſed: Yet what Need was there of ſuch a Band, ſince Friar *Vincent* of *Valvarda* could tell *Atabalippa* King of *Peru*, That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were the Pope's, who had beſtowed more than half thereof upon the King of *Spain*. If the Pope will have it ſo, it muſt be ſo, otherwiſe, I ſhould have interpreted that Place of *Geneſis*, *Increaſe and multiply*, *and fill the Earth*, as ſpoken to *Noah* and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Namar*, and *Phutt*, the ſuppoſed Fathers of the old *Ibreans*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, of whom the *Spaniſh* Blood is compounded; but of ſuch impudent Preſumption in diſpoſing of Countries far removed, and whereto the Sword muſt acquire a better Title, the Miſchief is not preſently diſcovered.

It were well if his Holineſs had not loved to ſet the World in an Uproar, by nouriſhing Wars among them that reſpected him as a common Father.

His diſpenſing with Oaths taken for Agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, do ſpeak no better of him; for by what Right was it that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* wan the Kingdom of *Navarre?* Why did not the Confederacy that was between *Lewis* XII. of *France* and the *Venetians* hinder that King from warring upon *Venice?* Why did not the like between *England* and *France* hinder our King *Henry* VIII. from warring upon the Son of King *Lewis?* Was it not the Pope who did ſet on the *French*, to the End that himſelf might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians?* Was it not the ſame Pope, who afterwards (upon Deſire to drive the *French* out of *Italy*) excommunicated *Lewis* and his Aherents; by Virtue of which

Excommu-

Excommunication, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* ſeized upon *Navarre*.

And ſerved not the ſame Warrant to ſet our *Henry* upon the Back of *France*; but this was not our King's Fault, more than all the People; we might with Shame confeſs it, if other Countries had not been as blindly ſuperſtitious as our Fathers. That a Bark of Apples, bleſſed by the Pope, and ſent hither for Preſents to thoſe that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our *Engliſh* haſty to take Arms; in ſuch ſort, as the *Italians* wondered, and laughed to ſee our Men no' leſs greedy of thoſe Apples than *Eve* was of the forbidden Fruit, for which they were to hazard their Lives in an unjuſt War. Few Ages have wanted ſuch, and more grievous Examples of the Pope's Tumultuous Diſpoſition; but theſe were among the leaſt that fell out before his Unholineſs was detected. Now for his diſpenſing between Kings and their Subjects, we need not ſeek Inſtances far from home.

He abſolved our King *John* of an Oath given to the Barons and People, the Barons and People he afterwards diſcharged of their Allegiance to King *John*.

King *Henry* III. had appeaſed his Land, (how wiſely I ſay not) by taking ſuch an Oath as his Father had done, ſwearing, he was a Knight, a Chriſtian, and a King: But in a Sermon at *Paul*'s, People were taught how little was to be repoſed to ſuch Aſſurance, the Pope's Diſpenſation being there openly read, which pronounced that Oath void. Good Cauſe why; for that King had the Patience to be like neither Knight nor King, but as the Pope's Tenant and Rent-gatherer in *England*. But when the ſame King adventured to murmur, the Pope could threaten to teach him his Duty, with a Vengeance, and make him know what it was to winch, and play the *Frederick*.

Thus we ſee what has been his Cuſtom; to oppreſs Kings by their People, and the People by their Kings; yet this was for ſerving his own Turn.

Wherein

Wherein had our King *Henry* VI. offended him? (which King, Pope *Julius* would after, for a little Money, make a Saint) nevertheleſs, the Pope's abſolving of *Richard* Duke of *York* from that honeſt Oath which he had given, by Mediation of all this Land to that good King, occaſioned both the King and the Duke's Ruin, and therewithal all thoſe long and cruel Wars between the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and brought all *England* into a horrible Combuſtion. What he meant by this I know not, unleſs to verify the Proverb, *Omnia Romæ Venalia.*

I will not urge the Diſpenſation whereby the Pope releaſed King *Philip* II. of *Spain* from his ſolemn Oath, by which he was bound to maintain the Privileges of the *Netherlands*; though the Papal Indulgence hath ſcarce as yet left working, and been the Cauſe of ſo many hundred Thouſands ſlain, for theſe laſt forty Years, in the *Netherlands.*

Neither will I urge the Pope's encouraging of *Henry* II. and his Sons, to the laſt, againſt the *French* Proteſtants, the Cauſe of the firſt three Civil Wars; and laſtly, of the levying of the *Byrons*, in which there have periſhed no leſs than in the *Low-Countries.*

For our Country, it affords an Example of freſh Memory; ſince we ſhould have had as furious a War as ever, both upon us and among us, in the Days of our late famous Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius*'s Bull could have gored as well as he could bellow.

Therefore it were not amiſs to anſwer by Herald the next pontifical Attempt of like Nature, rather ſending Defiance, as to an Enemy, than publiſhing Anſwers as to one that had here to do by any lawful Power, either in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, after ſuch Time as *Britain* was won from the *Roman* Empire.

For howſoever it were ordered, in ſome of the firſt holy general Councils, that the Pope of *Rome* ſhould be Patriarch over theſe Quarters; yea, or were it ſuppoſed

poſed that the forged Canons, by which he now challengeth more than Precedency and Supremacy, had alſo been made indeed, yet could this little help his Claim in Kingdoms that hold not of the Empire: For thoſe right holy Fathers did not make Truth, but religiouſly expounded it by Virtue of Eccleſiaſtical Government; they did not create Princes, but ordered the Diſcipline of the Countries which they then had.

There were Aſſemblies of all the Biſhops in the *Roman* World, and with the *Roman* Dominion only they meddled, requiſite it is, that the Faith which they taught ſhould be embraced in all Countries, as it ought likewiſe to be entertained in the *Eaſt*, if the ſame had been in like ſort illuſtrated; not by them, but by General Councils of the Biſhops in the great Kingdom of the *Abyſſines*, which is thought to have been Chriſtian in thoſe Days: But it was not requiſite, nor is, that the Biſhop of the *Abyſſines* and of *India* ſhould be under Direction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*; queſtionleſs, thoſe godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, and of the *Chalcedonian* Council ſo thought: For they took not upon them to order the Church-Government in *India*, where St. *Thomas* had preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Preſter-John* (as we call them) under any of themſelves, much leſs to frame an Hierarchy upon Earth, whereto Men of all Nations whatſoever ſhould be ſubject in Spiritual Obedience.

If *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors, the *Roman* Emperors, could have won all *Aſia*, like it is, that in the Council following more Patriarchs would have been ordained for the Eccleſiaſtical Government of that large Continent, and not all thoſe vaſt Countries left unto him of *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*. But ſince, contrariwiſe, the Empire became Loſers, the Patriarchs, whoſe Juriſdiction depended upon the Empire, became Loſers alſo.

We grant that even in the Times of Perſecution, before Chriſtian Biſhops durſt hold open Aſſemblies, there

There was given ſpecial Honour to the Biſhops that were over the chief Cities, that Unity might be the better preſerved, and Hereſy kept out of the Church; but this Honour was no more than a Precedency and Dignity without coercive Power, extending no farther than to Matter of Religion, and not having to do (but in the general Way of Chriſtian Love) with any Strangers.

We, therefore, that are no Dependents on the Empire, ought not to be troubled with the Authority (be it what it may be) of any Aſſemblies of their godly Fathers, which all Subjects of that Empire believe are ordained for their own better Government: But rather ſhould regard the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the Iſlanders of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* do him of *Conſtance* in *Normandy*, that is, nothing at all; ſince by that *French* Biſhop's Refuſal to ſwear unto the King, thoſe Iſles were annexed to the Dioceſe of *Wincheſter*.

The laſt Kind of War we ſhall treat of, is the *Unnatural*, otherwiſe called the *Inteſtine* or *Civil War*; and though it has the ſame Motives of Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge, as the Arbitrary and Cuſtomary War, yet is it of a quite different Nature, and muſt be otherwiſe defined; for that is to uſe Arms to redreſs Injuries, to conquer, or oppoſe Strangers, under Sovereign Authority; but this is to ſlay and oppreſs our Countrymen, our Friends, and even our own Relations, without Injury offer'd, though pretended, to gratify ſome exorbitant Paſſion upon the Public, under no Authority or legal Command, but directly contrary and oppoſite to the Sovereign Power, and to the very Being of Society itſelf. For a Member of a Community, or civil Society, has no more Right to diſturb the whole upon any Failure (if any be) than he has to cut his own Throat, becauſe ſome Part of his Body offends him. And under this Principle, ſo founded in Nature, if Men did not acquieſce, the World would be in a conſtant Uproar; ſince the beſt and eaſieſt Go-

vernment is juſt as far from being perfect, as the Men are that compoſe it.

How vain then is it to be diſturbed at that whoſe Cauſe is beyond ourſelves.

Tacitus ſays, we ought to ſubmit to what is preſent, and ſhould wiſh for good Princes, but whatſoever they are endure them; and *Machiavel* terms this a golden Sentence, adding, that whoſoever does otherwiſe, ruins both himſelf and Country. Certain it is, the Condition of no Nation was ever bettered by a Civil War; for when the People and the Government draw the Sword againſt each other, all former Compacts and Agreements for ſecuring of Liberty and Property are diſſolved, and become void; for flying to Arms is a State of War, which is the mere State of Nature, of Men out of Community, where all have an equal Right to all Things; and I ſhall enjoy my Life, my Subſtance, or what is dear to me, no longer than he that has more Cunning, or is ſtronger than I, will give me Leave: For natural Conſcience is not a ſufficient Curb to the violent Paſſions of Men out of the Laws of Society. And the few that ſhall ſurvive the Calamities and Devaſtations that Ambition or Revenge ſhall make in civil Diſſention, muſt ever after ſubmit to the arbitrary Power of the conquering Party. Now under what civil Stipulations and Covenants can a People be with their Governors, that can put them in a worſe Condition than this. And that any particular Government is now *Jure Divino* is hard to affirm, and of no great Uſe to Mankind. For let the Government of any Country where I am a Subject be by divine Inſtitution, or by Compact, I am equally bound to obſerve its Laws, and endeavour its Proſperity. For I take it to be true what *Plato* ſays; *Qui legibus pie & prudenter latis inſervit, inſervit Deo.* [That the Duty I owe to God obliges me to conform to the Laws of my Country, which are for the orderly and well-being of every Individual.] For God is the God of Order and Harmony,

mony, and not Confuſion. Alſo the Schools affirm, that *leges humane obligant conſcientiam*; [that the Conſciences of Men are bound by human Laws.]

I'll only mention more, the undeniable Authority of Scripture, which plainly commands us to *Submit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake*, * [that is, Obey the Laws of Men where the Law of God is ſilent,] and were not Mankind thus obliged, all Governments of Church and State would ſoon fall into Confuſion.

And if the Divines do rightly infer from the ſixth Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not Kill*, that ſcandalizing one's Neighbour with falſe and malicious Reports, whereby I vex his Spirit, and conſequently impair his Health, is a Degree of Murder; I may affirm, that Factions, Rumours and Diſcourſes, which alienate the Minds of People, and impeach and weaken the Government, is a Degree of Treaſon, and conſequently a Breach of the fifth Commandment.

I know 'tis ſaid, tho' a People, leaving the State of Nature, have entered into a Community, and made Laws, as they juſtly may to preſerve that Community, which Laws are to be obeyed under the Penalty of diſpleaſing God himſelf; yet the Adminiſtrators of thoſe Laws, being viſibly and incurably defective in preſerving the whole, may be removed; for, *cujus eſt dare, ejus eſt diſponere*: Where the People have no ſuch Right, they have loſt all Liberty.

Therefore wiſe Governors will not bear hard upon the People; for when public Abuſes come to the Height, that the Generality are ſenſible of them, and the true Majority have a Mind to diſcharge ſuch from the Government, whether ſingle Perſon or Council, I know not who ſhall prevent it, or againſt what Law they offend; ſince no Prince can ſhew a patriarchal Right, and a Community is under Conditions.

I only mention theſe two laſt Paragraphs as the utmoſt the moſt zealous Advocates can urge for the

* 1 Pet. ii 13.

Power of the People, and it amounts to no more than this; where the Perſon or Perſons poſſeſſing the ſupreme Power are incurably defective, and this plainly appears to the Majority of the People, they have a Right to change the ſame, I think naturally they muſt. But even the Majority itſelf, where there is no ſuch plain dangerous Defect, cannot in Right remove the Perſons, and alter the ſame; for then all Governments every Day would be at the Will and Pleaſure of the People; and I am ſure Arbitrarineſs in a Multitude, is far more dangerous than in a ſingle Perſon: The Experience of all Ages has found this to be true.

It is no Wonder that the public Actions and Affairs of State ſhould meet with many Cenſures and Enemies, ſince few Men can gain their own inward Approbation of what they daily do themſelves; ſo contradictory do Paſſions make Men act to their own Reaſon and Conſcience. It was a home Reproof our Saviour gave the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, when they ſeemed forward to have the Woman ſtoned that was taken in Adultery; *Let him that is without Sin caſt the firſt Stone.* Self-Conviction forced the *Phariſees* to withdraw, and leave the Woman without Accuſers. I therefore ſay, whoever impartially conſiders the Corruptions of his own Heart, the many Failings of his Underſtanding, and is not very tender in opening and manifeſting the Crimes and Failings of others, wants the Modeſty even of theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, and may expect a ſharper Reproof. 'Tis an admirable Direction, much known, but little conſidered, that *Thales* left, as the Characteriſtic of his Wiſdom, *Noſce te ipſum*; *Friend, know thyſelf.* 'Tis a hard Point, and not every where found. We labour hard to publiſh our Abilities, and conceal our Infirmities. And our Enquiry into ourſelves is ſo ſlight and partial, that few Men are really what they appear to themſelves to be. The vain Opiniator, in Purſuit of ſome extravagant Hopes, involves himſelf in innumerable Intricacies and hazardous Circumſtances,

and

and driven by the Force of Paſſion, from the Dictates of Reaſon and the common Paths of Senſe, falls into inevitable Calamities; and having thus expos'd himſelf, clamours againſt Providence for being unfortunate. Theſe being not a ſmall Number, are always ready to join with any Party in civil Diſſentions, whereby they hope either to mend their Condition, or get a good Excuſe for the bad one they are in.

The inſatiable Minds of Men impatient under what's preſent, fond of any Alteration, headed by thoſe that will be under no Dominion but that of Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge, are the original Cauſe of thoſe Calamities a Civil War brings upon a Nation. And when we ſay we are fallen into bad Times, we mean no otherwiſe but that we are fallen amongſt a wicked Generation of Men. For the Sun, the mediate vivifying Cauſe of all Things here below, and conſtant Meaſurer of Time, keeps its ſteady Courſe. The Condition of the Public grows worſe, as Men grow more wicked; for in all Ages, as the Morals of Men were depraved and Vice increaſed, the Commonwealth declined.

All Kingdoms being but the Connexion of Families, the Prince thereof is truly termed the Father of the Country, the grand *Pater familias*, the great Maſter of the Houſhold. Now if the Domeſticks of a Family be over-run with the deadly Sin of Pride and Luxury, Sloth and Rapine, it is a fair Sign of its utter Ruin. Thus in the larger Rule of Government there is the like Dangers of Ruin, where the Miniſters and public Officers, who are the Hands of a Nation, are baſely corrupted, ſerving the Public no farther than it ſerves their own Intereſt; and ſo they do but gain themſelves, care not who loſes, or what the Government ſuffers. Theſe ſeeming Friends are the worſt of Enemies; they had better never have been born, they are as the corrupt Tree which cannot bring forth good Fruit, abſolute Strangers (in Practice) to Prudence, Juſtice, and

the other Virtues rightly called Cardinal; for upon the Obſervance of them does the Safety and Proſperity of Mankind depend. That ever ſuch Men ſhould be preferred is a Neglect in any Government; for there can be no Merit in any Man that wants Honeſty. 'Tis ſaid for Excuſe, that the Heart of Man cannot be known before Trial, but the Behaviour of a Man in an Employment may be well gueſs'd at, by the Manner of his getting himſelf in; for if he owes his Advance to Money, or Favour purely, then was there no Regard to Ability and Merit; and what Corruption muſt be expected in an Office where ſo worthleſs a Perſon is Poſſeſſor of it? Wiſe Men will aſſent that the Welfare of a Kingdom principally depends upon the Honeſty and Ability of its Officers; where ſuch are wanting, and the contrary employed, there will be Hardſhips and Complaints, and Abettors eaſily found to raiſe from thence Commotions and civil Diſſentions.

It will hardly be found, upon ſtrict Examination, that any of the many Civil Wars that Hiſtory ſpeaks of, had their Riſe purely from open Abuſes in the Government: For when public Abuſes become ſo notorious that the People are univerſally grieved and affected therewith, how can ſuch a Government gain a Party ſtrong enough to make a Civil War, ſince we cannot ſuppoſe any conſiderable Number of Men can be ſo ſenſeleſs as to fight for thoſe that abuſe them. And if the Generality perceive themſelves neceſſarily obliged to alter the Adminiſtrators of a Government, as it may be done by Right, ſo it will be done without Bloodſhed. It follows then, that the Subtilty uſed towards ſome weak Men, joined with others, over-ruled by the Wealth and Authority of ſome great ambitious Perſons, is the main Foundation of all civil Bloodſhed. It may be affirmed, the Number of thoſe that have been ſlaughtered by their Fellow-creatures, exceed the Number of all the Inhabitants that ever were at one Time living upon the Face of the Earth; yet very few of

of this infinite Number, thus untimely ſlain, were ever Maſters of the Grounds of the Diſpute for which they ſuffered, or the true Reaſon of their being led to the Battle, the Truth with much Artifice being kept from all but what were Parties to the Deſign reſolved on. What deluded Wretches then have a great Part of Mankind been, who have either yielded themſelves to be ſlain in Cauſes, which if truly known their Heart would abhor, or been the bloody Executioners of other Men's Ambition. 'Tis a hard Fate to be ſlain for what a Man ſhould never willingly fight; yet few Soldiers have laid themſelves down in the Bed of Honour under better Circumſtances. It was not Ignorance made *Monluc*, Marſhal of *France*, confeſs, that if the Mercies of God were not infinite, none of his Profeſſion could expect any.

And becauſe many People's Minds are better engaged by Examples out of Hiſtory, than by Direction and Precept, I'll mention ſome few Inſtances, as related by the moſt known Authors, for the Truth of the Propoſition here aſſerted. Hiſtory doth plainly tell us, that that furious War (which broke out in *France*) in the Reign of *Francis* II. and which occaſioned moſt barbarous Murders, Devaſtations, and ſuch other Calamities (which are the common Products of civil Commotions, and by continuing near forty Years had reduc'd *France* to the laſt Miſery) was begun and carried on by ſome few great Men of ambitious and turbulent Spirits, deluding the People with the Cloak and Maſk only of Religion, to gain their Aſſiſtance to what they did more eſpecially aim at. 'Tis plain the Admiral *Coligny* adviſed the Prince of *Conde* to ſide with the *Huguenots*, not only out of Love to their Perſuaſion, but to gain a Party, and be made thereby the ſtronger; neither can any Man think that the Papiſts, out of the Principle of the Chriſtian Religion, which enjoins us to be meek and charitable, did in few Days Space cut the Throats of near thirty Thouſand Proteſtants in

France, many of whom were Men of great Fame and Quality, but out of Fear of their Numbers and Power: Theſe being removed they made ſure of graſping to themſelves all Rule and Dominion. So that this *Pariſian* Maſſacre had no more Religion in it than the *Sicilian* Veſpers, when in two Hours Time all the *French* throughout the whole Kingdom of *Sicily* were at once, with great Barbarity, maſſacred, for no other Reaſon, but that the *Sicilians* might get their Room.

'Tis a ſevere Fate for a People to be overcome by Enemies, who fight not to increaſe their Subjects and enlarge their Dominions, but to lay waſte their Enemies Cities, deſtroy their People, and to extirpate their very Name and Being from the Face of the Earth; and ſuch was the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*. They were ſo equal in Wealth and Power, that one ſeemed to eclipſe the growing Greatneſs of the other, being Competitors for that Sovereignty, which unleſs one was totally deſtroy'd, the other could never abſolutely have. The diſcerning Princes of *Carthage* clearly ſaw this, and no doubt upon this Account it was, that *Hamilcar*, who himſelf had ſaved them, made his Son *Hannibal* ſwear, while but nine Years old, to purſue *Rome* with immortal Hatred. At twenty-ſix he is made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*; upon Succeſſes there he leaves the Command of *Spain* to *Aſdrubal* his Brother, paſſing himſelf into *Italy*, convincing the *Romans* he was as ready to aſſault as they. The Care he had for his Country, (which true Honour always prefers before any private Intereſt) made him deſpiſe the Dangers he was ſure to meet with there; and after many ſharp Encounters, in ſome of which he was dangerouſly wounded, and tedious Marches, in one of which, paſſing the *Apenine* Mountains, by Severity of Weather he loſt the Uſe of one Eye, he gains the Character of a great Commander, both for the Perfection of his military Skill, and Greatneſs of his Spirit. This made him feared Abroad, and much honoured at Home;

Home; but Envy, that always attends great Merit, not as a Friend to ſupport, but as a Spy to betray, began to draw a black Cloud over *Hannibal*'s Performances, with ſiniſter Suggeſtions, which increaſed equally with his riſing Fame: So that after his glorious Succeſs at the Battle of *Canna*, where he totally overthrew the *Roman* Army, his Enemies growing impatient at the great Honours which he continually obtained by the happy Progreſs of his Arms, though managed with as much Faithfulneſs to his Country as Bravery towards his Enemies, were reſolved to ruin him, whatever the Public ſuffer'd by it. Hereupon, *Hanno*, an ungrateful Nobleman of that *Carthage* for whoſe Liberty *Hannibal* had fought ſo many Battles, with his envious Accomplices, when Account was given of *Hannibal*'s Proceedings and Vioctries to the *Carthaginian* Senate; and that he only wanted thoſe Supplies which he then demanded to march even to the Walls of *Rome*, his Victory at *Canna* having laid the Way open, ſo managed the Matter in the Senate, out of pure Malice to *Hannibal*'s Perſon, that Succours were neglected to be ſent, whereby the *Romans* gained more Advantage than all their Armies could do; and *Hannibal* not only loſt the Opportunity of being Maſter of that City, which boaſted to be the Miſtreſs of the World, but ſaw the *Carthaginian* Intereſt in a fair Way of being utterly loſt, which they would not ſee themſelves till it was too late to prevent. For as Authors allow it probable, that if *Hannibal* had received ſuitable Supplies to his Occaſions and Requeſt, he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots; ſo the Defects of Men and Money muſt not only hinder his advancing, but muſt neceſſarily make him loſe Ground; and being made unfortunate, he muſt be made culpable, and ſo his Enemies procured his being called home, for not doing what they had contrived he ſhould not. He received the Meſſage with much Concern, abominating the baſe Treachery his Enemies had acted towards their own

own Country as well as him; crying out, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and not *Scipio* the *Roman* had deſtroyed *Carthage*. Upon his Departure the *Romans* appointed an Holiday for Thanks to the Gods, acknowledging a braver Officer could not be employed againſt them. In a little Time the *Romans* became Maſters of all, even of the Liberties of *Carthage* itſelf, upon whom they impoſed baſe and ſervile Conditions, the juſt Fruits of their Uſage of *Hannibal*.

Carthage being thus betrayed by a Faction at home, whoſe Safety *Hannibal* had often preferr'd before his Life; but being now made incapable of ſerving thoſe he loved beſt, his honeſt Countrymen, to avoid the being an Eye-witneſs of their Miſeries, and himſelf being taken and made the Reproach and Scorn of his inſulting Enemies, he withdrew into *Aſia*, truſts himſelf with *Pruſſias* King of *Bithynia*, whom the *Romans* preſently demand as their moſt ſpiteful Enemy; whereupon this wretched King, to content the *Romans*, contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality and Faith given, ſet a Guard about *Hannibal*'s Lodgings, who ſeeing himſelf incloſed and hemmed in, took Poiſon, which he always carried about him. Thus died, through ambitious Envy, that devours itſelf and all about it, the faithfuleſt Subject that ever Country had, and one of the greateſt Captains that ever the World bred; unfortunate, but famous.

Carthage ſoon found its Period, when in the *Romans* Power, and *Hannibal* its Defender was removed; and the ſooner, becauſe the *Romans* conſidered that the Maſtery of *Carthage* was not ſo much owing to their Arms as the Faction within itſelf. Thus their Fears deſtroyed what the Envy of others had betrayed; for *Paterculus*, their own Author, ſays, *Neque ſe Romam ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam ſtantis maneret Carthaginis*; that *Rome* was not ſecure while *Carthage* was in Being. And the ſame Author ſays, after reciting that *Scipio* had razed the very Foundations of that famous

famous City, *Hunc finem habuit Romani Imperii Carthago Æmula*; this was the Fate of *Carthage* the Competitor of *Rome*'s Greatneſs.

It is confeſs'd by all, that the Gall and Rancour which were raiſed in *Hanno* at thoſe Merits in others, which he in no wiſe could pretend to, were the Cauſe of the utter Deſtruction of this populous and rich City of *Carthage*, once equal to *Rome* for Power and Wealth, and for Antiquity ſuperior, its Foundation being ſixty-five Years older than that of *Rome*'s.

It might be uſeful to ſet out and delineate to Mankind the Arts and Diſguiſes, the falſe Topics and Mediums that *Hanno* and ſuch factious Perſons as he muſt uſe to make their venomous Intentions and falſe Reaſonings paſs undiſcovered by a wiſe Senate. I know there are ſome Hiſtorians of good Credit, that lay the Blame of retarding the Supply to be ſent to *Hannibal*, which loſt *Carthage*, to the natural ſparing Humour of the *Carthaginians*; but it does not ſeem probable to me, that the *Carthaginians* after ſo many bloody and expenſive Wars with the *Romans*, more to defend than enlarge their Territories, in this laſt War, wherein both Parties ſeem'd determin'd to have all their Differences finally decided by the Fortune of War, reſolving to be either Slaves or Conquerors, ſhould ſuffer the greateſt Victory they ever obtained, or that the *Romans* ever loſt, to be of no Effect and Advantage through unſeaſonable Avarice. Certainly the Fatality of *Carthage* proceeded from a Faction at home, which will eat the very Heart of the ſtrongeſt conſtituted Government, and may never be perceived till it is paſt Recovery.

'Tis remarkable, that in this War alſo the *Romans* had ſome baſe Spirits among them, who, to make themſelves popular, had run *Rome* into great Hazard of receiving the ſame Fate from the *Carthaginians* which *Carthage* received after from the *Romans*; and 'tis no mean Inſtance of the Mutability of human Affairs, that *Rome*, from a low and deſpairing Condition, ſhould

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in a little Time be able to tread upon their Conquerors; and *Carthage*, from the higheſt Succeſſes, fall ſo low as to be deny'd the Freedom of being a People in the World. This looks as if ſome were to have the ſhew of Happineſs only, that their Miſery may ſeem the ſharper; warning us, that when Fortune comes ſmiling, ſhe often deſigns the moſt Miſchief. In Truth, their Misfortune proceeded from being wiſe too late, they did not know the Cauſes till the Effects were paſt. So *ſero ſapiunt Phryges*, Experience is not worth the Coſt; and to buy Wiſdom at one's own Ruin, is like buying a noble Medicine to cure the Diſeaſes of a Man that is dead.

But to mention the Stories which ſhew that baſe Men of little Ability may be popular in a Government, and that it is dangerous when they are ſo: *M. Centenius Penula* (whom *Machiavel* calls a very baſe Fellow) after *Hannibal* had been in *Italy* eight or ten Years, and had filled the Country with bloody Slaughters of the *Romans*, to the great Terror of *Rome* itſelf, being ſwelled to a great Conceit of himſelf, by the airy Applauſes and Opinions of the Vulgar, had the Confidence to enter the Senate, offering, that if they would give him Authority to levy an Army, he would in a ſhort Time deliver into their Hands *Hannibal* either dead or alive. The Senate thought his Demand very raſh, but conſidering how acceptable ſuch a Propoſal would ſound in the Ears of the People, durſt not deny him for fear of a Tumult; thus they were forced to ſacrifice their own Judgments, an Army of Friends, and almoſt their whole State, to ſatisfy the Humour of the People centered in one weak Man. The Succeſs was no better than the Expectation; for *Hannibal* meeting *Penula*, near *Capua*, totally routs his whole Army, ſo that of ſixteen Thouſand, not two Hundred eſcaped.

And not long before, *Terentius Varro*, a mean Man in all Reſpects, through the Favour of the Multitude was choſen Conſul, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the

the Senate could make, apprehending the ill Conſequences which muſt happen from ſuch a raſh and inconſiderate Commander in the Army. However, to pleaſe the People, he boldly gave out in all Meetings and public Places of *Rome*, that he would certainly defeat *Hannibal*. The Raſhneſs of this Man occaſioned the Battle of *Canna*, and the total Overthrow of the *Roman* Army there; ſo that without Oppoſition the Conqueror might have march'd to *Rome*, and by laying waſte that City have put an End to the War; and 'twas reckon'd a Fault in *Hannibal* he did not; *Maherbal*, an Officer, telling him, he knew how to get, but not to uſe a Victory. Thus the *Roman* State was brought to the very Brink of Ruin and Deſtruction, through the Means only of a hot-headed Favourite of the People.

Theſe three, *Varro*, *Penula*, and *Hanno*, are always ſpoken of with Infamy, the Baſeneſs of their Minds and Lives leaving a ſuitable Character behind them; the two firſt endangering, the laſt abſolutely ruining a large and mighty Commonwealth; yet, peradventure, when they ſaw the Concluſion of their Treacheries and Follies was the Ruin of their Country, they might have the Fool's Excuſe in Reſerve, That they did not intend it; which rather aggravates than leſſens their Crimes; for he that begins a Miſchief upon a Suppoſition, that at ſuch a Time he will put a Stop to it, will find himſelf miſerably miſtaken.

And as theſe Perſons were juſtly branded for the Calamity they brought upon their Country, ſo it ought to be conſidered how far the Senators themſelves, both of *Carthage* and *Rome*, were acceſſary to their own Misfortune. The Senate of *Rome* was well acquainted with the Inabilities of *Varro* and *Penula* for ſuch Commands as the People preſs'd they might have, expecting from their Conduct nothing but Ruin to the Public; yet the Refuſal of theſe the Senate did believe would put the common People into ſuch an Uproar, that

that they ran a Hazard of their own Lives; therefore they choſe rather to gratify the People, though to the apparent Hazard of the whole Commonwealth, than venture their own Safety. This is *cenſura difficilis*, a ſevere Reflection, eſpecially upon a Senate compoſed of *Romans*, who boaſted of a public Spirit beyond the ordinary Pitch of Mankind. Yet the Generality of the Fault will much abate the Blame; for 'tis believed there are few national or civil Aſſemblies in the World, but have greater Care of themſelves than of the Public.

Certainly the Spirit of *Attilius Regulus* was above moſt Men's Imitation, who being a Priſoner at *Carthage*, was ſuffered to go to *Rome* with their Ambaſſadors, upon Faith given to return if Peace was not made; againſt which *Regulus* himſelf, when he came to *Rome*, gave Reaſons to the Senate out of Love to his Country; whereupon the Senate and his own Relations deſired and adviſed him to ſtay, and not return to the *Carthaginians*, enraged by their Diſappointment of a Peace, and who, they were informed, were reſolved to uſe him barbarouſly: He told them he had ſo much of the Spirit of a *Roman*, that he could not conſent to what was baſe or diſhonourable; and that the Tortures of a Rack were not ſo much to be feared, as the Shame of an infamous Action; becauſe the firſt only touch'd the Body, but the other pierc'd the very Soul. He returned therefore to *Carthage*, to be juſt to his Word, where they put him to Death with the extremeſt Tortures their Wit could invent.

A great Inſtance to what a Contempt of this Life, and the Pains or Pleaſures that belong to it, a mere natural Man may bring himſelf, that will free himſelf from the baſe and ſlaviſh Importunities of the Senſes, and be guided only by the noble and ever happy Dictates of Honour and Juſtice; and that the Pains of the Body are much inferior to thoſe of the Mind; ſo that the Purity of the Mind is to be preferred before the Pleaſure or Being of the Body.

But

But no Senate, nor Civil Aſſembly, can be under ſuch natural Impulſes to Honour and Juſtice as ſingle Perſons; for politic Members meet with neither Encouragement nor Reproaches, for what was the Effect of Number only. For a Majority is no Body when that Majority is ſeparated, and a collective Body can have no Syntereſis or divine Ray, which is in the Mind of every Man, never aſſenting to Evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: But the Honour and Conſcience that lies in the Majority is too thin and diffuſive to be efficacious; for a Number can do a great Wrong, and call it Right, and not one of that Majority bluſh for it. Hence it is that though a public Aſſembly may lie under great Cenſures, yet each Member looks upon himſelf as little concerned; this muſt be the Reaſon why a *Roman* Senate ſhould act with leſs Spirit and leſs Honour than any ſingle *Roman* would do. And this Compliance of the *Roman* Senate with the Multitude, contrary to their Reaſon, and below their Honour, ſhews, that when the Commonalty are in their Heats and Commotions, they muſt be forc'd or comply'd with, being rarely capable of Reaſon and Perſuaſion; and that it is an *Herculean* Labour to perſuade them from an imaginary to a real Good. Thus to free themſelves from the Difficulties of reaſoning with the Multitude, it was the Wiſdom of the ancient Lawgivers, ſuch as *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, to aſſign the Laws they made for the Benefit of the People (who underſtanding nothing, ſuſpect every thing) to ſome Deity, that they might be received without Oppoſition or Contempt. The Vulgar are eaſily moved, as *Machiavel* ſays, by Arguments that tend to preſent Gain or Loſs, their Minds being wholly taken up with the preſent, are ever void of that Wiſdom which is the Reſult of Reflection, not capable, by comparing the preſent with what has been, of making a rational Conjecture of what may be.

As

As to the *Carthaginian* Senators it muſt be ſaid, that though by their Eaſineſs of believing crafty Inſinuations, raiſed by baſe and deſigning Spirits, was loſt the greateſt General then in the World, and with him, themſelves, and the whole Commonwealth. It is hard to ſay that Charity, that divine Virtue ſo neceſſary in ſingle Perſons, is dangerous in Governors; yet in them 'tis Prudence to believe all Men are bent to Miſchief, and that Good is ſeldom done but through Force or Fear, and that moſt have a Wit to put in Practice the Wickedneſs of their Minds as often as Occaſion ſhall ſerve. And to this inate Diſpoſition to Evil is often added Hypocriſy, making the greateſt Shews of Probity and Goodneſs when they intend to deceive moſt. Thus *Hanno*, under the Diſguiſe of being a Patriot, ruined his Country.

Rome, hitherto, had beheld with Triumph the Miſeries of War in other Nations, commanding, by the Right of Conqueſt, the Lives and Fortunes of the beſt Part of the World, levelling with the Ground their Cities, and leading their Princes in Chains; but all terreſtrial Felicities muſt have an End, and triumphing *Rome* itſelf is at laſt ſo full of Miſeries, as if all the Cruelties and Barbarities her inſulting Armies had exerciſed on the Nations round about were returned into her own Bowels, managed by thoſe that always are the worſt of Enemies, Neighbours and Countrymen: For *Fabius* ſaid well, he had rather fall upon the Enemy's Sword, than the Citizens Malice. This State-frenzy of Sedition, which ever proves fatal, was occaſioned by the reviving of the *Agrarian* Law, by which, the Lands taken from their Enemies, and formerly divided among the Nobility, ſhould be ſhared among the People of *Rome*; the Contentions about this Law kindled ſuch a Hatred between the People and the Senate, that it never ended but with the Loſs of the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Diſſolution of that Republic.

So

So vaſt a Deſtruction happening from the ſingle Inconveniency of a reaſonable Law, too violently urged, may caution wiſe Men to avoid the leaſt Beginnings of Strife in a Government, ſince they often breed Contentions which the wiſeſt Heads cannot compoſe: Every Diſion in a Government is like the breaking out of a Fire, when, and where 'twill end no body knows; and, as the *Gracchi*, they may fall firſt that think themſelves fartheſt from Danger.

The various Progreſs of theſe Contentions between the Senate and the People about this Law, the great Barbarity uſed towards each other's Party, as often as they had Power, the miſerable Slaughters and Maſſacres within the City, and the Effuſion of Blood in the Camps, which never ceaſed till the Commonwealth expired, may be ſeen in their Hiſtories. I ſhall only ſet down ſome few Particulars that occur from reflecting upon theſe civil Feuds of the *Romans*. 1. That a greater Plague cannot come upon a People than a Civil War; for Man has no worſe Enemy than Man. *David* ſo well conſidered this when three Evils were propoſed to him, as to intreat the Prophet that he might not fall into the Hands of Man. 2. That Authors of civil Diſturbances generally have the Fate to fall by the Tumults they have raiſed. 3. That a Law may be juſt and reaſonable, as this *Agrarian*, and yet not at all Times fit to be promoted. 'Tis plain by this alſo, how much Men eſteem Wealth rather than Honours; for the Nobility of *Rome* ever gave way to the People, where it touch'd Matter of Honour without any extraordinary Diſtaſte; but when their Wealth was concerned, how obſtinately did they defend it, even to Madneſs?

And 'tis more plain there is not in Nature a Point of Stability to be found; every thing either aſcends or declines: When Wars are ended abroad, Sedition begins at home, and when Men are freed from fighting for Neceſſity, they quarrel through Ambition.

It will be ſufficient to fright any thinking People from promoting any public Diſturbances, to conſider the Miſeries which befel all Ranks and Orders of People during theſe Diſſenſions.

Such a Deluge of Calamities are not to be found in any other Poſition of the human Nature.

The common People were butchered after a moſt inhuman Manner, eight Thouſand being put to Death together in a large Houſe in the *Campus Martius*; the Soldiers had Liberty to kill all they met; and throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, the Effuſion of Blood was ſuch, that neither Temple nor Sanctuary, nor private Houſes eſcaped their Fury; ſo that *Sylla* was told, he ought to leave ſome People to reign over. Not to mention the miſerable Slaughters upon the Entrance of *Cinna* and *Marius* into *Rome*; afterwards by *Sylla*'s Party alone, being of the contrary Faction, were put to Death common People innumerable, two thouſand ſix hundred Gentlemen, fifteen Conſuls, and fourſcore and ten Senators; and that bloody Day of *Romans* againſt *Romans*, on the Plains of *Pharſalia*, was the Effect of this Quarrel; for *Cæſar* was made Head of *Marius*'s Party, and *Pompey* of *Sylla*'s.

And though the Condition of the People of *Rome* and *Italy* was very deplorable under theſe civil Diſturbances, yet that of the Commanders, and the Chief in Power, was in all Reſpects much worſe, however they might Pride themſelves in being ſatiated with Blood and Revenge; ſince 'tis better to be oppreſſed than to be an Oppreſſor, better to be unfortunate than wicked, better to die lamented than live to be curſed, and thought the Scourge and Peſt of one's Country.

For at the ſeveral Entries of *Cinna* and *Marius*, and afterwards of *Sylla* into *Rome*, the Salutations of the People were their Curſes and bitter Outcries; *in execrationem* Cinna *partiumque ejus*, as their Hiſtorians write, againſt *Cinna* and his Faction; and ſo odious were their Practices, that they ſaid of *Marius*, the beſt of them, that

that he was *in otio civibus, infeſtiſſimus quietiſque impatientiſſimus*, in Peace a bitter Enemy to his Countrymen, and of Quiet moſt impatient; and the ſame Author ſhews the Ground of turbulent Spirits, *Sed iis, quibus & peſſima & immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere*, that they whoſe greedy Deſires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, could not away with Peace.

And certainly the Fruit that theſe Genlemen reap'd from their Sedition, will never tempt any to follow their Example: For their Days were ſpent in continual Troubles, their Nights muſt be diſmal, whilſt Darkneſs and Silence preſented to their Minds their cruel and horrid Acts in their proper Colours; their Characters were villainous, leaving behind them an everlaſting Infamy; their Power but momentary, not laſting three Years in any; their Deaths violent and infamous. *Cinna* was ſlain by his own Soldiers; *Marius* indeed died within a month after made Conſul, which prevented a worſe End; *Sylla* was eaten up with Lice, an Impoſthume ſo corrupted his Fleſh that it turned all to that Vermin, notwithſtanding he was continually ſhifted Night and Day.

But moſt dreadful is the Conſideration of the Weight of that Guilt which muſt always accompany their Spirits; for Souls do not inhabit the Duſt. Thoſe Scenes of Miſeries, and Follies that theſe Men have preſented to the World, are a ſufficient Proof what baſe Creatures Mankind are to themſelves and others, when Paſſions are predominant.

The common People of *England* have ſuffered the ſame Fate as other Nations, they have been drawn with Heat and Fury to ſhed one another's Blood for ſuch a Liberty as their Leaders never intended they ſhould have, and have fought many Battles to redreſs Grievances, which Victory, wherever it happened, always increaſed, endangering a good Government upon Pretences of making it better. Such Practices have

made Foreigners believe the *Engliſh* are naturally of a turbulent and diſquiet Spirit; as if thoſe Epithets of *perfidi*, *inflati*, *feri*, *amentes*, *immanes*, which *Scaliger* beſtows on us, were true.

But Foreigners have Reaſon to think our frequent Diſturbances proceed from our Tempers, and not from any Defects in the Government; ſince learned Writers abroad have declared, that of all Seigniories in the World, the Realm of *England* was the Country where the Commonwealth was beſt governed.

And Men well governed ſhould ſeek after no other Liberty; for there can be no greater Liberty than a good Government: The Truth is, the Eaſineſs of the Government has made ſome ſo wanton as to kick againſt it; our own Hiſtorians write, that moſt of our Kings have been unthankfully uſed.

The Barons Wars have been attributed, by good Hiſtorians, to the Stubbornneſs of the Nobility, though it carried the ſpecious Pretence of confirming Liberties. By this War *Henry* III. was forc'd, for Want of Money, to renounce to the King of *France*, for the poor Conſideration of three hundred thouſand Pounds, his Right to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *Main*, and *Poictou*, which had coſt the *Engliſh* much Blood and Money; and by the Loſs of thoſe Havens and Ports on t'other Side, the Ocean our Wall, the natural and beſt Fence of our Iſland, is left naked and expoſed.

It has been obſerved alſo, that ſince theſe Troubles from the Barons, the Kings of *England*, to leſſen the Power of the Nobility, and balance them, have yielded to the growing Greatneſs and Privileges of the Commons, and what Effect that will have Time can only ſhew. Politicians do affirm, that Nobility preſerves Liberty longer than the Commons, and, for Inſtance, ſay, *Solon*'s popular State came far ſhort of *Lycurgus*'s by mix'd Government; for the popular State of *Athens* ſoon fell, whilſt the royal, mix'd Government of *Sparta* ſtood

ſtood a mighty Time; by the Nobility *Sparta* and *Venice* enjoyed their Freedom longer than *Rome*.

The terribleneſs of Civil War and Diſſenſions will be ſufficiently made out, by obſerving the Methods of Divine Providence; for never was any Place ſo ſeverely threatened with terrible Judgments and Deſolations as *Jeruſalem*, the capital City of the Holy Land, and the Seat of Religion for above eleven hundred Years; and for a full Accompliſhment of that Wrath and Vengeance which was pronounced againſt it, it pleaſed God to ſuffer a mighty Faction and Sedition to be raiſed within itſelf, as one certain Means of its Miſery and Deſtruction.

'Tis plain whilſt we are mix'd Bodies, we are continually paſſing from one Alteration to another, as well civilly as naturally: For Inconveniencies and Offences, as the Scripture declares, will come; but withal adds a Woe unto them by whom they do come. 'Tis the Qualifications of our Contemporaries, of the Men that dwell at the ſame Time with us, muſt make us happy or miſerable; it muſt be their Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Honour, which are not local, as the Law calls it, tied or annexed to a Place, but moving and tranſitory as Fortune itſelf. For there is the ſame Proportion of Good and Evil in the World as ever, though it ſhifts and changes, not always in the ſame Place, and never in the ſame Degree; even the holy Worſhip of God, Religion, through the Wickedneſs of Men, has had its Marches. Nor is Man alone the Subject of Alteration and Viciſſitude, but the Earth itſelf is ſometimes dry Land, and ſometimes overwhelmed with Waters, and a fruitful Land has been turned into Barrenneſs, for the Wickedneſs of them that dwell therein. All Sublunaries being in continual Motion, little Knowledge in Hiſtory will convince us, that Perſons, Families, Countries and Nations, have alternately fallen from great Wealth, Honour and Power, to Poverty and Contempt, and to the very Dregs of Slavery. We muſt

look a long Way back to find the *Romans* giving La to Nations, and their Conſuls bringing Kings a Princes bound in Chains to *Rome* in Triumph; to Men go to *Greece* for Wiſdom, or *Ophir* for Go when now nothing remains but a poor Paper Reme brance of their former Condition.

It would be an unſpeakable Advantage, both to Public and Private, if Men would conſider that gr Truth, that no Man is wiſe or ſafe, but he that honeſt. All I have deſigned is Peace to my Count and may *England* enjoy that Bleſſing when I ſhall h no more Proportion in it than what my Aſhes make

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

INVENTION

OF

Ships, Anchors, Compaſs, &c.

The firſt Natural War, the ſeveral Uſes, Defects, and Supplies of Shipping; the Strength and Defects of the Sea Forces of England, France, Spain, *and* Venice: *Together with the five manifeſt Cauſes of the ſudden appearing of the* Hollanders,

THAT the Ark of *Noah* was the firſt Ship, becauſe the Invention of God himſelf, although ſome Men have believed, yet it is certain, that the world being planted before the Flood, the ſame could not be performed without ſome tranſporting Veſſels. It is true, and the Succeſs proves it, that there was not any ſo capacious, nor ſo ſtrong to defend itſelf againſt ſo violent and ſo continued a pouring down of Rain, as the Ark of *Noah*, the Invention of God himſelf; for of what Faſhion or Fabric ſoever, the reſt, with all Mankind, periſhed, according to the Ordinance of God. And probable it is, that the Anchors, whereof *Ovid* made mention, found on high Mountains, *Et inventa eſt in*

montibus Anchora ſummis, were remaining of Ships wreck'd at the general Flood.

After the Flood, it is ſaid, that *Minos*, who lived two Deſcents before the War of *Troy*, ſent out Ships to free the *Grecian* Seas of Pyrates; which ſhews, that there had been either Trade, or War, upon the Waters before his Time alſo.

The Expedition of the *Argonauts* was after *Minos* *; and ſo was the Plantation of *Tyrene* in *Africa*, by *Battus*, who was one of *Jaſon*'s Companions; and that the *Tyrians* had Trade by Sea before the War of *Troy*, *Homer* tells us.

Others give the firſt Dominion upon the Waters to *Neptune* †, who, for the great Exploits he did in the Service of *Saturn*, was, by after Ages, called the God of the Seas. But the *Corinthians* aſcribe the Invention of rowing Veſſels to a Citizen of their own called *Ameynocles*; and that the firſt naval War was made between the *Samiens* and *Corcyriens* ‡.

Ithicus's Hiſtory, changed into *Latin* by St. *Hierome*, affirms, that *Griphon* the *Scythian*, was the Inventor of long Boats, or Gallies, in the northern Seas; and *Strabo* gives the Invention of the Anchor with two Hooks, to the *Scythian Anacharſis*, but the *Greeks* to *Eupolemus*.

It is alſo ſaid, that *Icarus* invented the Sail, and others other Pieces and Parts of the Ships and Boats, whereof the certain Knowledge is of no great Moment. This is certain, that the Sons and Nephews of *Noah*, who peopled the Iſles of the Gentiles, and gave their own Names to many of them, had Veſſels to tranſport themſelves long before the Days of *Minos*; and for my own Opinion, I do not think that any one Nation (the *Syrians* excepted, to whom the Knowledge of the Ark came, as the Story of the Creation did ſoon after *Moſes*) did find out, at once, the Device either of Ship or Boat, in which they durſt venture themſelves upon

* *Pindar.* † *D. Sic.* Lib. 6. ‡ Lib. Ger. 1. Cap. 1.

the

the Seas: But being forced by Neceſſity to paſs over Rivers or Lakes, they firſt bound together certain Reeds or Canes, by which they tranſported themſelves. *Calamorum falces* (ſaith *D. Siculus*) *admodum ingentes inter ſe conjungunt.*

Others made Rafts of Wood, and other deviſed the Boat of one Tree called the *Canoa*, which the *Gauls* upon the River of *Roan* uſed in aſſiſting the Tranſportation of *Hannibal*'s Army, in his Enterpriſe of *Italy*. *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant Arbores* * (ſaith *Livy*) But *Polydor Virgil* † gives the Invention of thoſe *Canoos* to the *Germans* inhabiting about the River of *Danubius*, which Kind of hollow Trees *Iſidor* calls *Carabes*.

The *Britains* ‡ had Boats made of Willow Twigs, and covered on the outſide with Bullock Hydes, and ſo had the *Venetians*; of which *Lucan*, *primum cana ſalix*, &c. *Malefacto*, &c. And *Julius Solinus*, *Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circundant ambitione tergorum Bubalorum.* The ſame Kind of Boats had the *Germans* || (ſaith *Iſidor*) who in his Time committed many Robberies in them. But whoſoever deviſed the *Canoo* among the *Danubians*, or among the *Gauls*, ſure I am, that the *Indians* of *America* never had any Trade with either of theſe Nations; and yet from *Frobiſher*'s Streights, to the Streights of *Magellan*, thoſe Boats are found, and in ſome Parts of that Length, as I have ſeen them rowed with twenty Oars of a Side.

The Truth is, that all Nations, how remote ſoever, being all reaſonable Creatures, and enjoying one and the ſame Imagination and Fantaſy, have deviſed, according to their Means and Materials, the ſame Things.

The Eaſtern People, who have had from all Antiquity the Uſe of Iron, have found out the Saw, and with the Saw they have ſundered Trees in Boards and Planks, and have joined them together with Nails, and

* *Livy*, 1. Lib. Dec. † *Polidor* Lib. 3. ‡ Such Boats are now uſed for Sporting in the Fens. || *Iſidor* Orig. 9. de Navig. Cap. 1.

ſo

ſo made Boats and Gallies ſafe and portable; ſo have they built Cities and Towns of Timber, and the like in all elſe.

On the contrary, the *Weſt-Indies*, and many Nations of the *Africans*, wanting Means and Materials, have been taught by their own Neceſſities to paſs Rivers in a Boat of one Tree, and to tie unſquared Poles together on the Top for their Houſes, which they cover with large Leaves; yea, the ſame Boats, and the ſame Buildings, are found in Countries two thouſand Miles diſtant, debared from all Commerce by unpaſſable Mountains, Lakes, and Deſerts. Nature hath taught them all to chooſe Kings and Captains for their Leaders, and Judges. They all have lighted on the Invention of Bows and Arrows; all have Targets and wooden Swords; all have Inſtruments to encourage them to fight; all that have Corn beat it in Mortars and make Cakes, baking them upon Slate-ſtones; all deviſed Laws without any Grounds had from the Scriptures, or from *Ariſtotle*'s Politick, whereby they are governed; all that dwell near Enemies impale their Villages to ſave themſelves from ſurpriſe. Yea, beſides the ſame Inventions, all have the ſame natural Impulſions; they follow Nature in the Choice of many Wives, and there are every where among them which, out of a kind of wolfiſh Ferocity, eat Man's Fleſh; yea moſt of them believe in a ſecond Life, and they are all of them Idolaters in one Kind or other.

For the northern Parts of the World, it was long ere they grew to any Perfection in Shipping; for we read that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* came over into this Land in long Boats, in which for the firſt Time, being called in by the *Britains*, they tranſported five thouſand Soldiers. And that after, they came with a Supply of ten thouſand more, ſhip'd in thirty Veſſels, which the *Saxons* call *Keels*, and our old Hiſtorians *Cogions*. And in *Cæſar*'s Time, the *French Britains*, who were then eſteemed the beſt Seamen, had very untoward Tubs, in which

which they made War againſt him. For they took the Winds in Sails of Leather, heavy and unpliable; and they faſten their Ships to the Ground, and ride at Anchor with Cables of Iron Chains, having neither Canvaſs nor Cordage; inſomuch as the beſt of them, which were *Vannes*, are deſcribed with high Heads raiſed up deformedly above the reſt of the Buildings; to which Kind of Form that they were conſtrained, the Reaſon is manifeſt; for had their Cables of Iron Chains held any great Length, they had been unportable, and being ſhort, the Ships muſt have ſunk at an Anchor, in any Storm of Weather or Counter-tide. And ſuch was their ſimplicity in thoſe Days, as inſtead of accommodating their Furniture to their Ships, they formed their Ships to their Furniture; not unlike the Courtiers of this Age, who fit their Bodies and their Feet to their Doublets and Shoes, and not their Doublets and Shoes to their Bodies and Feet.

The *Pomerlanders* inhabiting the South Part of the *Baltick*, or Eaſtland Sea, uſed a Kind of Boat with the Prow at both Ends, ſo as they need not wend or hold Water, but went on and returned indifferently; of which *Tacitus* *, *Suionum hinc Civitates ipſo in orceano præter viros armaque Claſſibus valent; forma navium, eo differt, quod utrinque proraparatam ſemper appulſui frontem agit: Nec velis miniſtrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum ut in quibuſdam fluminum & mutabile ut res poſſet hinc vel illinc remigium.*

Next are the Cities of the *Suiones*, which are mighty at Sea, not only in Men and Arms, but in Fleets. The Form of their Veſſels differs in this, that a Prow at each End enables them to row forward either Way alike; neither uſe they Sails, nor place their Oars in Order upon the Sides, but carrying the Oar looſe, they ſhift it hither and thither at Pleaſure, as is the Manner in ſome Rivers: Yea, at this Time, both the *Turks*

* *Tacitus* de moribus German.

and

and Chriſtians uſe theſe Kind of Boats upon the River of *Danubius*, and call them *Nacerne*.

True it is, that before *Cæſar*'s invading of this Land, we do find that the *Britains* had not any Shipping at all, other than their Boats of Twigs covered with Hydes as aforeſaid.

The *Saxons*, when they were drawn in by the *Britains*, came hither by Sea; and after that Time finding that without Shipping they could neither defend themſelves, nor exerciſe any Trade, they began to make ſome Proviſion for a Navy, ſuch as it was, which being firſt conſidered of by *Egbert*; *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Ethelldred*, augmented it: And how true it is I know not, but it is written of *Edgar*, that he increaſed the Fleet he found, to two thouſand ſix hundred Sail: After whom *Etheldred* made a Law, that whoſoever was Lord of three hundred and ten Hide of Land, ſhould build and furniſh one Ship for the Defence of their Countrey.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Proviſions, the *Danes* invaded them, and having better Ships than they had, made their Way for a new Conqueſt.

The *Normans* grew better Shipwrights than either of both, and made the laſt Conqueſt of this Land; a Land which can never be conquered, whilſt the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas, which Dominion I do not find that it was ever abſolute, till the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth; but that we fought ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill Succeſs, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the Diſpute of the firſt Navigators, certain it is, that the Invention of the Compaſs was had from our Northern Nations, were it from the *Germans*, *Norwegians*, *Britains*, or *Danes*; for even to this Day, the old Northern Words are uſed for the Diviſion of Winds upon the Quarter of the Compaſs, not only by the *Danes*, *Germans*, *Swedes*, *Britains*, and all in the Ocean, that underſtand the Terms and Names of

of the Winds in their own Language: But the *French* and *Spaniſh* call the Sun-riſing Winds, Eaſt, and the Sun-ſetting Winds Weſt, the reſt North and South; and ſo, by the ſame Terms, in all the Diviſions of South-eaſt, North-eaſt, South-weſt, North-weſt, and the reſt.

And if we compare the marvellous great Tranſportations of People by the *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Danes*, *Goths*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians* eſpecially, and others; and how many Fleets, for Supplies have been ſet out by them, with the Swarms of *Danes*, as well in our Seas, as when they invaded and conquered *Sicily*, together with the Colonies planted by the *Tyrians* in *Africa*, as elſewhere, and of the *Carthaginians*, the Sons of the *Tyrians* in *Spain*; it is hard to judge which of theſe Nations have moſt commanded the Seas, though, for Priority, *Tibullus* and *Ovid* give it the *Tyrians*. *Prima ratam Ventis credere docta Tyros* *. And *Ovid*, *Magna minorque feræ quarum Regis altera Gratias; altera Sydonias uterque ſicca rates.*

And it is true, that the firſt good Ships were among the *Tyrians*, and they had good and great Ships not long after the War of *Troy*; and in *Solomon*'s Time they were of that Account, as *Solomon* invited *Hiram* King of *Tyre* to join with him in his Journey into the *Eaſt-Indies*; for the *Iſraelites*, till then, never traded by Sea, and ſeldom if ever after it; and that the *Tyrians* were the Chief in that Enterprize, it appears in that they were called *Nautas peritos maris*, in the *Hebrew* (ſaith *Junius*) *Homines navium* †, and in our *Engliſh*, Mariners.

It is alſo written in the Second of *Chronicles*, the Eighth, that *Hiram* ſent *Solomon* Ships, *Et ſervos peritos maris*, and Servants ſkilful of the Sea, whereby it is probable, that the *Tyrians* had uſed the Trade of *Eaſt-India* before the Days of *Solomon*, or before the Reign of *David*, when themſelves commanded the

* *Tibul.* Eleg. Strab. Lib. 16. † *Junius.* 1 King. Cap. 9.

Ports

Ports of the Red-Sea. But the *Edumæans* being beaten by *David*, and the Port of *Ezion-Geber*, now ſubject to *Solomon*, the *Tyrians* were forced to make *Solomon* the Chief of that Expedition, and to join with him in the Enterpriſe; for the *Tyrians* had no Paſs to the *Red-Sea*, but through the Territory of *Solomon*, and by his Sufferance.

Whoſoever were the Inventors, we find that every Age had added ſomewhat to Ships, and to all Things elſe. And in my own Time, the Shape of our *Engliſh* Ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long ſince the ſtriking of the Top-maſt (a wonderful eaſe to great Ships, both at Sea and Harbour) hath been deviſed, together with the Chain-pump, which takes up twice as much Water as the ordinary did; we have lately added the Bonnet and the Drabler. To the Courſes we have deviſed Studding-ſails, Top-gallant-ſails, Sprit-ſails, Top-ſails; the weighing of Anchors by the Capſtone is alſo new. We have fallen into Conſideration of the Length of Cables, and by it we reſiſt the Malice of the greateſt Winds that can blow; witneſs our ſmall *Milbrook* Men of *Cornwal*, that rid it out at Anchor, half Seas over between *England* and *Ireland*, all the Winter Quarter; and Witneſs the *Hollanders*, that were wont to ride before *Dunkirk* with the Wind at North-weſt, making a Lee-ſhore in all Weathers: For true it is, that the Length of the Cable is the Life of the Ship in all Extremities; and the Reaſon is, becauſe it makes ſo many Bendings and Waves, as the Ship riding at that Length is not able to ſtretch it, and nothing breaks that is not ſtretched. In Extremity, we carry our Ordnance better than we were wont, becauſe our nether Overloops are raiſed commonly from the Water, to wit, between the lower Part of the Port and the Sea.

In King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, and in his Preſence, at *Portſmouth*, the *Mary Roſe*, by a little Sway of the Ship in caſting about, her Ports being within ſixteen

ſixteen Inches of the Water, was overſet and loſt, and in her that worthy Knight Sir *George Carew*, Couſin German to the Lord *Carew*, and with him (beſides many other Gentlemen) the Father of the late renowned Sir *Richard Greenvil.*

We have alſo raiſed our ſecond Decks, and given more Vent thereby to our Ordnance, tying on our nether Overloop.

We have added croſs Pillars in our Royal Ships to ſtrengthen them, which being faſtened from the Kelſon to the Beams of the ſecond Deck, keep them from ſettling, or from giving way in all Diſtreſſes.

We have given longer Floors to our Ships than in elder Times, and better bearing under Water, whereby they never fall into the Sea, alter the Head and ſhake the whole Body, nor ſink aſtern, nor ſtoop upon a Wind, by which the breaking looſe of our Ordnance, or the not Uſe of them, with many other Diſcommodities, are avoided.

And to ſay the Truth, a miſerable Shame and Diſhonour it were for our Shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other in the ſetting up of our Royal Ships, the Errors of other Nations being far more excuſable than ours. For the Kings of *England* have for many Years been at the Charge to build and furniſh a Navy of powerful Ships for their own Defence, and for the Wars only; whereas the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugals*, and the *Hollanders* (till of late) have had no proper Fleet belonging to their Princes or States. Only the *Venetians*, for a long Time, have maintained their Arſenal of Gallies, and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* have had good Ships for theſe laſt fifty Years; I ſay, that the forenamed Kings, eſpecially the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, have Ships of great Bulk, but fitter for the Merchant than for the Man of War, for Burden than for Battle. But as *Popelinire* well obſerveth, the Forces of Princes by Sea are *Marques de Grandeur d'Eſtat*, are Marks of the Greatneſs of an Eſtate:

Eſtate: For whoſoever commands the Sea, commands the Trade; whoſoever commands the Trade of the World, commands the Riches of the World, and conſequently the World itſelf. Yet can I not deny, but that the *Spaniards*, being afraid of their *Indian* Fleets, have built ſome few very good Ships, but he hath no Ships in Garriſon as his Majeſty hath, and, to ſay the Truth, no ſure Place to keep them in; but in all Invaſions he is driven to take up of all Nations which comes into his Ports for Trade.

The *Venetians* while they attended their Fleets, and employed themſelves in their Eaſtern Conqueſt, were great and powerful Princes, and commanded the Maritimate Parts of *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania*, and *Epirus*, were Lords of *Peloponeſus*, and the Iſlands adjoining, of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and many other Places; but after they ſought to greaten themſelves in *Italy* itſelf, uſing Strangers for the Commanders of their Armies, the *Turks*, by degrees, beat them out of all their goodly Countries, and have now confined them (* *Candia* excepted) to a few ſmall *Grecian* Iſlands, which with great Difficulty they enjoy.

The firſt Honour they obtained, was by making War upon the *Iſtrii* by Sea, and had they been true to their Spouſe, to wit the Seas, which once a Year they marry, the *Turks* had never prevailed againſt them, nor ever been able to beſiege any Place of theirs, to which he muſt have tranſported his Armies by his Gallies.

The *Genoeſe* were alſo exceeding powerful by Sea, and held many Places in the Eaſt, and contended often with the *Venetians* for Superiority, deſtroying each other in a long continued Sea War. Yea, the *Genoeſe* were the moſt famous Mercenaries of all *Europe*, both by Sea and Land for many Years.

The *French* aſſiſted themſelves by Land with the Croſs-bowers of *Genoa* againſt the *Engliſh*; namely,

* *Candia* is ſince loſt.

at

at the Battle of *Creſſy* the *French* had 12000 Croſs-bowers, *Genoeſe*. By Sea, with their great Ships called the Carracks of *Genoa*, they always ſtrengthened their Fleets againſt the *Engliſh*; but after *Mahomet* the Second had taken *Conſtantinople*, they loſt *Caffa*, and all *Taurica*, *Cherſoneſus*, with the whole Trade of the *Euxine* Sea; and although they ſent many Supplies by the *Helleſpont*, yet having often felt the Smart of the *Turks* Cannon, they began to ſlack their Succours, and were ſoon after ſupplanted. Yet do the *Venetians*, to this Day, well maintain their Eſtate by their Sea Forces, and a great Loſs it is to the Chriſtian Common-weal in general, that they are leſs than they were; and a precipitate Counſel it was of thoſe Chriſtian Kings their Neighbours, when they joined in League againſt them, ſeeing they then were, and they yet are, the ſtrongeſt Rampiers of *Europe* againſt the *Turks*.

But the *Genoeſe* have now but a few Gallies, being altogether degenerate, and become Merchants of Money, and the *Spaniſh* King's Bankers. But all the States and Kingdoms of the World have changed Form and Policy.

The Empire itſelf, which gave Light to Principalities, like a *Pharos* or high Tower to Seamen, is now ſunk down to the Level of the Soil. The Greatneſs which it gave to the Church of *Rome*, as before proved, was it which made itſelf little in haſte; and therefore truly ſaid, *Imperium amore Religionis ſeipſum exhauſiſſe*. The Empire being alſo Elective, and not Succeſſive, the Emperors in being made Profit of their own Times, and ſold from the Empire many Signories depending on it, and at ſo eaſy a Rate, as *Lucca* freed itſelf for ten thouſand Crowns, and *Florence* for ſix thouſand Crowns; the reſt the Popes, then the *Hanſes*, and laſtly the *Turks* have in Effect ruined. And in which ſeveral Inundations, many Pieces have been recovered by other Princes and States; as *Baſil*, *Zuric* and *Berne*, by the *Switzers*, (omitting many others) *Metz*, *Thouloufe*, *Verdum*, by the *French*; *Groign*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*,

ter, *Newegen* in *Guelderland*, *Weſel*, *Antwerp*, and many other Places by the *Spaniards*, and by the States; *Dantzic*, and other Towns of Importance, by the *Polacs*: Inſomuch as it is now become the moſt confuſed Eſtate of the World, conſiſting of an Emperor in Title without Territory, who can ordain nothing of Importance, but by a Dyet or Aſſembly of the Eſtates of many free Princes, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal; in Effect, of equal Force, divers in Religion and Faction, and of free Cities and Hans-towns, whom the Princes do not more deſire to command, than they ſcorn to obey. Notwithſtanding, being by far leſs than they were in Number, and leſs in Force and Reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, ſo have they enough to do (being ſeated far aſunder) to defend themſelves; of whom hereafter more particularly.

The *Caſtilians*, in the mean while, are grown great, and by miſtaking eſteemed the greateſt, having by Marriage, Conqueſt, Practice *, and Purchaſe, devoured all Kingdoms within *Spain*, with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and the *Netherlands*, and many Places belonging to the Empire and the Princes thereof; beſides the *Indies* Eaſt and Weſt, the Iſlands of the Weſt Ocean, and many Places in *Barbary*, *Guinea*, *Congo*, and elſewhere.

France hath alſo enlarged itſelf by the one half, and reduced *Normandy*, *Britain*, and *Aquitain*, with all that the *Engliſh* had on that Side the Sea, together with *Languedoc*, *Foix*, *Armignac*, *Berne*, and *Dauphiny*.

For this Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, it hath had by his Majeſty a ſtrong Addition, the Poſtern by which we were ſo oft heretofore entered and ſurpriſed is now made up, and we ſhall not hereafter need the double Face of *Janus* to look North and South at once.

But there is no State grown in haſte, but that of the United Provinces, and eſpecially in their Sea-forces,

* Practice was in this Age uſed for Treachery.

and

and by a contrary Way to that of *France* or *Spain*, the latter by Invaſion, the former by Oppreſſion; for I myſelf may remember when one Ship of her Majeſty's would have made forty *Hollanders* ſtrike Sail, and to come to Anchor. They did not then diſpute *De mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the *Engliſh* to be *Domini maris Britannici*. That we are leſs powerful than we were, I do hardly believe it; for although we have not at this Time one hundred and thirty-five Ships belonging to the Subjects, of five hundred Tons each Ship, as it is ſaid we had in the twenty-fourth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, at which Time alſo, upon a general View and Muſter, there were found in *England*, of all Men fit to bear Arms, eleven Hundred and ſeventy-two Thouſand, yet are our Merchants Ships now far more warlike and better appointed than they were, and the Navy Royal double as ſtrong as then it was; for theſe were the Ships of her Majeſty's Navy at that Time.

1. The *Triumph.*
2. The *Eliz. Jonas.*
3. The *White Bear.*
4. The *Philip* and *Mary.*
5. The *Bonaventure.*
6. The *Golden Lion.*
7. The *Victory.*
8. The *Revenge.*
9. The *Hope.*
10. The *Mary Roſe.*
11. The *Dreadnaught.*
12. The *Minion.*
13. The *Swiftſure.*

To which there hath been added.

14. The *Antelope.*
15. The *Foreſight.*
16. The *Swallow.*
17. The *Handmaid.*
18. The *Gennet.*
19. The Bark of *Bullen.*
20. The *Aid.*
21. The *Achates.*
22. The *Falcon.*
23. The *Tyger.*
24. The *Bull.*

We have not, therefore, leſs Force than we had, the Faſhion and Furniſhing of our Ships conſidered: For there are in *England*, at this Time, four hundred Sail of Merchants fit for the Wars, which the *Spaniards*

would call *Gallions*; to which we may add two hundred Sail of *Crumſters*, or Hoys of *Newcaſtle*, which each of them will bear ſix Demi-culverins, and four Sakers, needing no other Addition of Building, than a ſlight ſpar Deck fore and aft, as the Seamen call it, which is a ſlight Deck throughout. Theſe two hundred, which may be choſen out of four hundred, by reaſon of their ready ſtaying and turning, by reaſon of their windwardneſs, and by reaſon of their drawing of little Water; and they are of extreme Vantage near the Shore, and in all Bays and Rivers to turn in and out; theſe, I ſay, alone, well manned, and well conducted, would trouble the greateſt Prince of *Europe* to encounter in our Seas; for they ſtay and turn ſo readily, as, ordering them into ſmall Squadrons, three of them at once may give their Broadſides upon any one great Ship, or upon any Angle or Side of an Enemy's Fleet; they ſhall be able to continue a perpetual Volley of Demi-culverins without Intermiſſion, and either ſink or ſlaughter the Men, or utterly diſorder any Fleet of croſs Sails with which they encounter.

I ſay then, if a Vanguard be ordained of theſe Hoys, who will eaſily recover the Wind of any other Ships, with a Battle of four hundred other warlike Ships, and a Rear of thirty of his Majeſty's Ships to ſuſtain, relieve, and countenance the reſt (if God beat them not) I know not what Strength can be gathered in all *Europe* to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furniſh a far greater Number, I anſwer, that his Majeſty's forty Ships, added to ſix hundred before named, are of incomparably greater Force than all that *Holland* and *Zealand* can furniſh for the Wars. As alſo that a greater Number would breed the ſame Confuſion that was found in *Xerxes'* Land Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Soldiers; for there is a certain Proportion both by Sea and Land, beyond which, the Exceſs brings nothing but Diſorders and Amazement.

Of thoſe Hoys, Carvils, or Crumſters, call them what you will, there was a notable Experience made in the Year 1574, in the River of *Antwerp*, near *Rummerſwael*, where the Admiral *Boyſet*, with his Crumſters, overthrew the *Spaniſh* Fleet of great Ships conducted by *Julian Romero*; ſo contrary to the Expectation of *Don Lewis*, the great Commander and Lieutenant of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, as he came to the Banks of *Bergen* to behold the Slaughter of the *Zealanders*; but, contrary to his Expectation, he beheld his *Armado*, ſome of them ſunk, ſome of them thruſt on the Shore, and moſt of the reſt maſtered and poſſeſſed by his Enemies: Inſomuch as his great Captain *Romero*, with great Difficulty, ſome ſay in a Skiff, ſome ſay by Swimming, ſaved himſelf.

The like Succeſs had Captain *Werſt* of *Zealand*, againſt the Fleet which tranſported the Duke of *Medini Cœli*, who was ſent out of *Spain* by Sea, to govern the *Netherlands*, in Place of the Duke of *Alva*; for with twelve Crumſters or Hoys, of the firſt Troop of twenty-one Sail he took all but three, and he forced the ſecond (being twelve great Ships filled with two thouſand Soldiers) to run under the *Ramakins*, being then in the *Spaniards* Poſſeſſion.

But whence comes this Diſpute? Not from the Increaſe of Numbers, not becauſe our Neighbours breed more Mariners than we do, nor from the Greatneſs of their Trade in all Parts of the World; for the *French* creep into all Corners of *America*, and *Africa*, as they do, and the *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, employ more Ships by many (fiſhing Trades excepted) than the *Netherlands* do: But it comes from the deteſtable Covetouſneſs of ſuch particular Perſons as have gotten Licences, and given way to the tranſporting of the *Engliſh* Ordnance. *Fuit hæc Sapientia quondam, publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis.* And that in ſo great Abundance, as that not only our good Friends the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* have furniſhed themſelves, and have them lying

on their Wharfs to ſell to others; but all other Nations have had from us, not only to furniſh their Fleets, but to garniſh all their Forts and other Places, fortifying their Coaſts; without which the *Spaniſh* King durſt not have diſmounted ſo many Pieces of Braſs in *Naples* and elſewhere, therewith to arm his great Fleet in 88. But it was directly proved in the lower Houſe of Parliament, *Anno* of Queen *Elizabeth*, that there were landed in *Naples* above one hundred and forty Culverins *Engliſh*, ſince which Time alſo, and not long ſince, it is lamentable that ſo many have been tranſported into *Spain*. But thoſe that be like then determined it, and the Tranſporters, have now forſaken the Country; and though the Procurers remain, I am reſolved that they alſo have forſaken the Care of his Majeſty's Eſtate, and the Honour of this Nation. I urge not this Point as thinking it unfit to furniſh his Majeſties good Friends and Allies, who have had with us one common Enemy for many Years; but all politick Eſtates have well obſerved this Ptecept, *Ut ſit tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum:* For what are all the Ships in the World to be valued at, other then a Company of floating Tubs, were they not furniſhed with Ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themſelves? If a Ship of a thouſand Tons had in her a thouſand Muſketeers, and never a great Gun, with one Crumſter, carrying ten or thirteen Culverins, ſhe may be beaten to Pieces, and her Men ſlaughtered. Certainly the Advantage which the *Engliſh* had by their Bows and Arrows in former Times, was never ſo great as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our Enemies, or imparted it to our Friends moderately; for as by the former we obtained many notable Victories, and made ourſelves Maſters of many Parts of *France*, ſo by the latter we might have commanded the Seas, and thereby the Trade of the World itſelf. But we have now, to our future Prejudice, and how far

far to our Prejudice I know not, forged Hammers, and delivered them out of our Hands, to break our own Bones withal.

For the Concluſion of this Diſpute, there are five manifeſt Cauſes of the Upgrowing of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*.

1. The firſt is, the Favour and Aſſiſtance of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the King's Majeſty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of *Orange* did always acknowledge: And in the Year 1582. when I took my Leave of him at *Antwerp*, after the Return of the Earl of *Leiceſter* into *England*, and Monſieur's Arrival there, when he delivered me his Letters to her Majeſty, he prayed me to ſay to the Queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur*; for certainly they had withered in the Bud, and ſunk in the Beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majeſty aſſiſted them.

2. The ſecond Cauſe was, the employing of their own People in their Trades and Fiſhings, and the entertaining of Strangers to ſerve them in their Armies by Land.

3. The third is, the Fidelity of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, and their Services done them, eſpecially of that renowned Prince *Maurice*, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*, while in his Abſence he recovered thoſe ſtrong Places of *Zeland* and *Frizeland*, as *Deventer*, *Zutphen*, &c.

5. And the fifth, the imbarging and confiſcating of their Ships in *Spain*, which conſtrained them, and gave them Courage to trade by Force into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and in *Africa*, in which they employ one hundred and eighty Ships, and eight thouſand 700 Mariners. The Succeſs of a Counſel ſo contrary to their Wiſdom that gave it, as all the Wit, and all the Force the *Spaniards* have, will hardly (if ever) recover the Damage thereby received.

For to repair that Ruin of the *Hollanders* Trade into both *Indies*, the *Spaniards* did not only labour the Truce; but the King was content to quit the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, and to acknowledge them for free States, neither holding nor depending on the Crown of *Spain*. But be their Eſtates what it will, let not them deceive themſelves in believing that they can make themſelves maſters of the Sea; for certainly the Shipping of *England*, with the great Squadron of his Majeſty's Navy Royal, are able, in Deſpight of any Prince or State in *Europe*, to command the great and large Field of the Ocean. But as I ſhall never think him a Lover of this Land, or of the King, that ſhall perſuade his Majeſty from embracing the Amity of the States of the *United Provinces*, (for his Majeſty is no leſs ſafe by them, than they invincible by him) ſo I would wiſh them, (becauſe after my Duty to mine own Sovereign, and the Love of my Country, I honour them moſt) that they remember and conſider it, ſeeing that their Paſſage and Repaſſage lies thro' the *Britiſh* Seas; that there is no Port in *France*, from *Calais* to *Fluſhing*, that can receive their Ships; that many Times outward by weſterly Winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the *Eaſt-Indies*, but from the Streights, and from *Spain*, all ſoutherly Winds (the Breezes of our Climate) thruſt them of Neceſſity into the King's Ports; how much his Majeſty's Favour doth concern them. For if (as themſelves confeſs in their laſt Treaty of Truce with the *Spaniards*) they ſubſiſt by their Trades, the Diſturbance of their Trades (which *England* can only diſturb) will alſo diſturb their Subſiſtence. The reſt I will omit, becauſe I can never doubt either their Gratitudes or their Wiſdoms. For our *Newcaſtle* Trade (from which I have digreſſed) I refer the Reader to the Author of the Trade's Increaſe, a Gentleman to me unknown; but ſo far as I can judge, he hath many Things very conſiderable in that ſhort Treatiſe of his; yea both con-

conſiderable and praiſe-worthy; and among the reſt, the Advice which he hath given for the Maintenance of our Hoys and Carvils of *Newcaſtle*, which may ſerve us, beſides the Breeding of Mariners, for good Ships of War, and of exceeding Advantage. And certainly I cannot but admire why the Impoſitions of five Shillings ſhould any way diſhearten them, ſeeing there is but one Company in *England*, upon whoſe Trade any new Payments are laid, but that they on whom it is laid raiſe Profit by it. The Silkmen, if they pay his Majeſty Twelve-pence upon a Yard of Satten, they not only raiſe that Twelve-pence, but they impoſe Twelve-pence or two Shillings more upon the Subject; ſo do they upon all they ſell of what Kind ſoever, as all other Retailers do, of what Quality or Profeſſion ſoever: And ſeeing all the Maritimate Provinces of *France* and *Flanders*, all *Holland* and *Zealand*, *Embden* and *Bremen*, &c. cannot want our *Newcaſtle*, or our *Welſh* Coals, the Impoſition cannot impoveriſh the Tranſporter, but that the Buyer muſt make Payment accordingly: And if the Impoſitions laid on theſe Things, whereof this Kingdom hath no neceſſary Uſe, as upon Silks, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, and Cloaths of Gold and Silver, Cut-works, Cambricks, and a World of other Trumperies, doth in nothing hinder their Vent here, but that they are more uſed than ever they were, to the utter impoveriſhing of the Land in general, and of thoſe Poppinjays that value themſelves by their Outſides, and by their Players Coats; certainly the impoſing upon Coals, which other Nations cannot want, can be no Hindrance at all to the *Newcaſtlemen*, but that they may raiſe it again upon the *French* and other Nations, as thoſe Nations themſelves do, which fetch them from us with their own Shipping.

For Concluſion of this Chapter, I ſay, that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any Reſpect in the World, ſeeing the Preſervation of the State and Monarchy doth ſurmount

ſurmount all other Reſpects, that Strangers ſhould be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own Commodities, and thoſe of foreign Nations: For it is no Wonder we are overtop'd in all the Trades we have abroad, and far off, ſeeing we have the Graſs cut from under our Feet in our Fields and Paſtures.

OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the

Royal Navy and Sea-Service.

Dedicated to the moſt Noble and Illuſtrious Prince HENRY, Prince of WALES.

HAVING formerly (moſt excellent Prince) diſcourſed of a maritimal Voyage, and the Paſſages and Incidents therein, I think it not impertinent, nor differing from my Purpoſe, to ſecond the ſame with ſome neceſſary Relations concerning the Royal Navy, with the Services and Offices thereto belonging: For as the Perfection and Excellency of our Shipping is great and remarkable, ſo the Imperfections and Defects of the ſame, by Uſe and Experience of late Years, have been found to be divers and inconvenient; as it falls out many Times in the Circumſtances of Land-ſervice by the Change of Arms, Diverſities of Fortifications, and Alteration of Diſcipline. And therefore for the due Reformation, many Things are neceſſarily and particularly to be ſpoken and conſidered of in their Order. In Regard whereof, I will firſt begin with the Officers, and therein crave Pardon (if in ſpeaking plainly and truly in a Matter of ſo great Importance) I do ſet aſide all private Reſpects and Partiality; for in that which concerns the Service and Benefit of my Prince and Country, I will ſay with *Cicero*, *Nil mihi melius, nil mihi charius*; and therefore not juſtly to be taxed with any Preſumption for meddling with Matters wherein I have

no

no Dealings nor Charge. For that in the Affairs of this Nature, every good Subject is deeply intereſted, and bound in Conſcience and Duty both to ſay and do his beſt.

Of the Officers of the Navy.

Firſt therefore it were to be wiſhed, that the chief Officers under the Lord Admiral (as Vice-Admiral, Treaſurer, Comptroler, Surveyor, and the reſt) ſhould be Men of the beſt Experience in Sea-ſervice, as well as of Judgment and Practice in the Utenſils and Neceſſaries belonging to Shipping, even from the Batt's End, to the very Kelſon of a Ship. And that no Kind of People ſhould be preferred to any of theſe Offices, but ſuch as have been throughly practiſed, and be very judicial in either Kind of the above-named Services; but we ſee it oftentimes to fall out otherwiſe: For, ſometimes, by the ſpecial Favour of Princes (and many times by the Mediation of great Men for the Preferment of their Servants) and now and then by Virtue of the Purſe, and ſuch like Means, ſome People, very raw and ignorant, are very unworthily and unfitly nominated to thoſe Places, when Men of Deſert and Ability are held back and unpreferred, to the great Hindrance of his Majeſty's Service, to the Prejudice of the Navy, and to the no little Diſcouragement of ancient and noble able Servitors, when Favour or Partiality ſhall thus eat out Knowledge and Sufficiency, in Matters ſo nearly concerning the Service and Safety of the Kingdom, wherein all private Reſpects ſhould be laid apart, and Virtue truly regarded for itſelf.

Of the Building of Ships.

Secondly, it were no leſs behoveful, for his Majeſty's Service, and for the Strength of the Navy, that no Ships ſhould be built by the Great, (as divers of them

them have been;) for by daily Experience they are found to be the moſt weak, imperfect, and unſerviceable Ships of all the reſt. And it is not otherwiſe to be preſumed, but as the Officers would be thought to be very frugal for his Majeſty in driving a Bargain by the Great at a near Rate with the Shipwright, ſo likewiſe the Shipwright, on his Part, will be as careful to gain by his Labour, or at leaſt to ſave himſelf harmleſs, and therefore ſuit his Work ſlightly, according to a ſlight Price; out of the which preſent Sparing and untimely Thrift, there grows many future Inconveniencies, and continual Charge in repairing and re-edifying ſuch imperfect ſlight-built Veſſels. The Proof and Experience whereof hath been often found in new Ships built at thoſe Rates, but ſo weakly, as that in their Voyages they have been ready to founder in the Seas with every extraordinary Storm, and at their Return been enforced to be new built. But ſeeing the Officers of the Admiralty do hold (by the Grace of his Majeſty) Places of ſo good Credit and Benefit, it is their Parts therefore (being well waged and rewarded for the ſame) exactly to look into the ſound building of Ships, and to employ their Care and Travail, as well in the Overſight thereof, as to provide that all Things elſe belonging to the Navy be good and well conditioned: For the ſtrong and true Building of a Ship is not to be left barely to the Fidelity of a merchantical Artificer (the chief End of whoſe Work, in his own Accompt, is his Profit and Gain) but ſome ſuperior Officer ought to have a further Regard in that Buſineſs, if he be ſuch a one as hath more Judgment in the building and conditioning of a Ship, than Devotion to his own Eaſe and Profit.

Moreover, if any decayed Ship be intended to be new made, it is more fit and profitable to make her a Size leſs then ſhe was, than bigger; for then her Beams which were laid over-thwart from Side to Side will ſerve again, and moſt of her Timbers and other Parts will

will ſerve well to the building of a new Ship: But if ſhe ſhould be made a Size bigger, the Timber of the old will be unprofitable for that Purpoſe. We find by Experience, that the greateſt Ships are leaſt ſerviceable, go very deep to Water, and of marvellous Charge and fearful Cumber, our Channels decaying every Year. Beſides, they are leſs nimble, leſs mainable, and very ſeldom employed. *Grande Navio, grande fatica*, ſaith the *Spaniard*, A Ship of ſix hundred Tons will carry as good Ordnance as a ſhip of twelve hundred Tons; and though the greater have double her Number, the leſſer will turn her Broadſides twice, before the greater can wind once, and ſo no Advantage in that Overplus of Ordnance. And in the building of all Ships, theſe ſix Things are principally required.

1. Firſt, that ſhe be ſtrong built.
2. Secondly, that ſhe be ſwift.
3. Thirdly, that ſhe be ſtout ſided.
4. Fourthly, that ſhe carry out her Guns all Weather.
5. Fifthly, that ſhe hull and try well, which we call a good Sea-ſhip.
6. Sixthly, that ſhe ſtay well, when boarding and turning on a Wind is required.

1. To make her ſtrong, conſiſteth in the Truth of the Workman, and the Care of the Officers.

2. To make her ſail well is to give a long Run forward, and ſo afterward done by Art and juſt Proportion, as in laying out of her Bows before, and Quarters behind, ſhe neither ſink into nor hang in the Water, but lie clear off and above it. And that the Shipwrights be not deceived herein (as for the moſt Part they have ever been) they muſt be ſure that the Ship ſink no deeper into the Water than they promiſe, for otherwiſe the Bow and Quarter will utterly ſpoil her ſailing.

3. That ſhe be ſtout, the ſame is provided and performed by a long bearing Floor, and by ſharing off above

above Water, even from the lower Edge of the Ports.

4. To carry out her Ordnance all Weather, this long bearing Floor, and ſharing off from above the Ports, is a chief Cauſe; provided always that your loweſt Tire of Ordnance muſt lie four Foot clear above Water when all Loading is in, or elſe thoſe your beſt Pieces will be of ſmall Uſe at Sea in any grown Weather that makes the Billows to riſe; for then you ſhall be enforced to take in all your lower Ports, or elſe hazard the Ship. As befel to the *Mary Roſe* (a goodly Veſſel) which in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. being before the Iſle of *Wight* with the reſt of the Royal Navy (to encounter the *French* Fleet) with a ſudden Puff of Wind ſtooped her Side, and took in Water at her Ports in ſuch abundance, as that ſhe inſtantly ſunk downright, and many gallant Men in her. The Captain of her was Sir *George Carew* Knight, who alſo periſhed among the reſt.

5. To make her a good Sea Ship, that is to hull and try well, there are two Things ſpecially to be obſerved; the one, that ſhe have a good Draught of Water, the other that ſhe be not overcharged, which commonly the King's Ships are, and therefore in them we are forced to lie at try with our main Courſe and Mizen, which with a deep Keel and ſtanding Streak ſhe will perform.

6. The Hindrance to ſtay well is the extreme length of a Ship, eſpecially if ſhe be floaty, and want Sharpneſs of Way forward; and it is moſt true, that thoſe over long Ships are fitter for our Seas than for the Ocean, but one hundred Foot long, and five and thirty Foot broad, is a good Proportion for a great Ship.

It is a ſpecial Obſervation, that all Ships ſharp before, that want a long Floor, will fall roughly into the Sea, and take in Water over Head and Ears.

So will all narrow quartered Ships ſink after the Tail. The high charging of Ships it is that brings them all ill

Qualities, makes them extreme Leeward, makes them ſink deep into the Water, makes them labour, and makes them overſet.

Men may not expect the Eaſe of many Cabbins, and Safety at once in Sea-ſervice. Two Decks and a Half is ſufficient to yield Shelter and Lodging for Men and Mariners, and no more Charging at all higher, but only one low Cabbin for the Maſter. But our Mariners will ſay, that a Ship will bear more charging aloft for Cabbins; and that is true, if none but ordinary Mariners were to ſerve in them, who are able to endure, and are uſed to the tumbling and rowling of Ships from Side to Side when the Sea is never ſo little grown; but Men of better Sort and better Breeding would be glad to find more ſteadineſs, and leſs tottering Cadg-work. And albeit the Mariners do covet Store of Cabbins, yet indeed they are but ſluttiſh Dens that breed Sickneſs in Peace, ſerving to cover Stealths, and in Fight are dangerous to tear Men with their Splinters.

Of Harbouring and Placing the Navy.

There are alſo many and great Reaſons why all his Majeſty's Navy ſhould not in ſuch Sort be pen'd up as they are in *Rocheſter* Water, but only in Reſpect of the Eaſe and Commodity of the Officers, which is encountered with ſundry Inconveniencies for the Sea-ſervice, the Difficulty being very great to bring them in or out at Times of Need through ſo many Flats and Sands, if Wind and Weather be not very favourable. Beſides, they muſt have ſundry Winds to bring them to the Land's End, and to put them to the Seas, which oftentimes fails, and cauſeth Delay when Haſte is moſt needful. For if any Service be to be done upon the South Parts of *England*, as the *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, or Weſtward towards *Devonſhire* or *Cornwal*, or towards *Wales* or *Ireland*, it is ſo long ere his Majeſty's Shipping can be brought about

about to recover any of theſe Places, as much Miſchief may be done the while: For the ſame Winds that bring in the Enemy, binds in our Shipping in ſuch Sort, as that oftentimes in a Month's Space they are not able to recover the neareſt of any of theſe above-named Coaſts. But how perilous a Courſe it is, is eaſily diſcerned, and as eaſily remedied, ſeeing there are beſides ſo many ſafe and good Harbours to diſperſe and beſtow ſome of the Navy in, where they may ever lie fit for all Services; as *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Milford*, and divers others, all of them being Harbours very capable and convenient for Shipping. But perhaps it will be alledged, that they cannot ride in any of theſe ſo ſafe from Enemies as in *Rocheſter* Water, becauſe it reacheth far within the Land, and is under the Protection of ſome Block-houſes. To which I anſwer thus, that with very eaſy Care and Proviſion, they may in moſt of theſe Places ride ſufficiently ſecure from any foreign Practices. And I do not mean that all the whole Navy ſhould be ſubdivided into all theſe Ports, but that ſome half Dozen, or eight of the middling Ships, and ſome Pinnaces ſhould lie in the Weſt; and yet not in any Port ſo near the Sea, as that in a dark Night they may be endangered by Enemies with Fire or otherwiſe, but in ſome ſuch Places as *Aſhwater* is by *Plymouth*, where an Enemy muſt run up a freſh River a dozen Miles after he hath paſſed the Forts of the Iſland, and the Alarm given before he can come where they lie at Anchor. In which River the greateſt Carack of *Portugal* may ride afloat ten Miles within the Forts. But if Regard be only had of their ſafe keeping, and not alſo of their readineſs and fitneſs for Service, then let them never be ſent abroad to be hazarded againſt the Enemy's Forces; for therein they ſhall be more ſubject to Caſualty and Danger, than by lying in any of thoſe Harbours above ſpecified. But certain it is, that theſe Ships are purpoſely to ſerve his Majeſty, and to defend the King-

dom from Danger, and not to be ſo pen'd up from Caſualty, as that they ſhould be the leſs able or ſerviceable in Times of Need; and therefore that Objection favours not of good Reaſon, but rather of Self-reſpect in the Officers, who are all, for the moſt Part, well ſeated near about *Rocheſter*. But the Service of his Majeſty, and the Safety of the Realm (in my poor Opinion) ought to prevail beyond all other Reſpects whatſoever; and to him that caſts thoſe needleſs Doubts, it may well be ſaid, *pereat qui timet umbras.*

Of the needful Expence in manning the Navy, and other Inconveniencies, by placing all the Fleet in Rocheſter *Water.*

In the Service of the Shipping lying for any of theſe Places above-named, or for *Spain*, or for the Iſlands, they are enforced of very Neceſſity to preſs the beſt and greateſt Part of their Men out of the Weſt Countries, which is no ſmall Charge in bringing them ſo far as between that and *Rocheſter*; and then when they are embarked at *Rocheſter*, their Charge is again redoubled in their Pay and Expence of Victuals before the Ships can recover ſo far as *Plymouth*, which many Times is long a doing; for they do ever uſually touch at *Plymouth* in all ſouthern Voyages, for the furniſhing many Sea Neceſſaries which that Country doth afford. And therefore, for ſo many Ships as ſhould be there reſident, the Charges of Conduct-Money for Mariners, of Wages and of Victuals, would be well ſaved for all that Time which is ſpent betwixt *Rocheſter* and *Plymouth*. Beſides, it were to be preſumed, that Enemies would not be ſo troubleſome to the Weſtern Coaſts, nor that Country itſelf would be ſo often diſmayed with Alarms as they have of late Years been, if ſome of his Majeſty's good Ships were reſident in thoſe Parts. If therefore (in his Majeſty's Wiſdom) it ſhould appear fit to beſtow ſome of his Shipping in any of theſe Harbours

bours afore-named, it ſhall be very needful likewiſe that there be a Magazine of all manner of neceſſary Proviſions and Munitions in the ſame Places, according to the Proportion of the Shipping that there ſhall be reſident, whereby ſuch Defects as by Accident may fall out, ſhall, upon any Occaſion, be readily ſupply'd, without Delays or Hindrance of Service. And that withal, in the ſame Places, ſome Officers belonging to the Admiralty be there always attendant, otherwiſe it would be found very inconvenient to be enforced ever to attend ſuch Helps and Supplies as muſt come ſo far off as *London*, when it may more eaſily, and with leſs Charge, be effected in Places where they ride.

Of great Ordnance.

It were alſo very behoveful, that his Majeſty's Ships were not ſo over-peſtered and clogged with great Ordnance as they are, whereof there is ſuch Superfluity, as that much of it ſerves to no better Uſe but only to labour and overcharge the Ship's Sides in any grown Seas and foul Weather. Beſides, many of the Ships that are allowed but twenty Gunners have forty Piece of Braſs Pieces, whereas every Piece at leaſt requires four Gunners to attend it, and ſo that Proportion of Ordnance to ſo few Gunners is very prepoſterous; for when a Ship feels or rowls in foul Weather, the breaking looſe of Ordnance is a Thing very dangerous, which the Gunners can hardly prevent, or well look into, they being ſo few, the Guns ſo many; withal we do ſee, that twenty or thirty good Braſs Pieces, as Cannon, Demi-cannon, Culverin, and Demi-culverin, is a Royal Battery for a Prince to bring before any Town or ſtrong Fortreſs. And why ſhould not we as well think the ſame to be a very large Proportion for one Ship to batter another withal? Which if it be, then may his Majeſty rateably ſave a great Part of the Ordnance throughout every Ship, and make the Navy the more ſufficient

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and ſerviceable, and thereby alſo ſave a great deal of needleſs Expence in ſuperfluous Powder and Shot, that is now pretended to be delivered out according to this huge and exceſſive Proportion of Artillery; whereof if many had not been ſtriken down into *Holt* in many Voyages (and eſpecially in this laſt Journey to the Iſlands) divers of the Ships, Weight, Heaft, and Charge thereof, would have foundered in the Sea; wherein I report me to ſuch as have ſerved in them, and ſaw the Proof thereof. For this Journey to the Iſlands did, moſt of all others, diſcover unto us theſe Experiences and Trials in the Royal Navy; for that it was the longeſt Navigation that ever was made out of our Realm, with ſo many of the Prince's Ships, and tarrying out ſo late in the Year, whereby both the Winds and Seas had Power and Time throughly to ſearch and examine them. Beſides, many Times there is no Proportion of Shot and Powder allowed rateably, by that Quantity of the great Ordnance, as was ſeen in the Sea Battle with the *Spaniards* in the Year 88. when it ſo nearly concerned the Defence and Preſervation of the Kingdom. So as then many of thoſe great Guns wanting Powder and Shot, ſtood but as Cyphers and Scarecrows, not unlike to the Eaſterling Hulks, who were wont to plant great red Portholes in their broad Sides, where they carried no Ordnance at all.

Of Caulking and Sheathing his Majeſty's Ships.

There is a great Error committed in the Manner of Caulking his Majeſty's Ships, which being done with rotten Okum is the Cauſe they are leaky; and the Reaſon is this, for that they make their Okum, wherewith they caulk the Seams of the Ships, of old ſeer and weather-beaten Ropes, when they are overſpent and grown ſo rotten, as they ſerve for no other uſe but to make rotten Okum, which moulders and waſhes away with every Sea, as the Ships labour and are toſſed; whereas,

whereas, indeed, of all other Things, the moſt ſpecial and beſt Choice ſhould be made of that Stuff, to have it both new and good; for that Sparing, to employ old rotten Ropes, is a great Defect, either in building of new Ships, or repairing of old, and is the Cauſe why after every Journey they muſt be new caulked. And therefore it were much to be wiſhed (as a Thing fit for his Majeſty's Service, profitable for the Navy, and happy for thoſe that ſhall ſerve in them) that the whole Navy throughout were all ſheathed, as ſome of them are. The Benefit and Good whereof for Sea-ſervice is manifold, and no leſs frugal for his Majeſty, in making his Ships as ſtrong and laſting thereby, as they are otherwiſe good of Sail: And then ſhall they never need (ſcarcely once in ten Years) this new caulking and repairing, which now almoſt every Year they have. And hereof let the Cenſure be taken of the beſt Seamen of *England*, and they will not vary from this Opinion.

Of Victualling.

As his Majeſty's due Allowance for victualling of Ships is very large and honourable, and would be greatly to the Encouragement and Strengthening of the Mariners and Soldiers that ſerve in them, if it were faithfully diſtributed, the Sea-ſervice indeed being very miſerable and painful; ſo again, as it is abuſed and purloined, it is very ſcant and diſhonourable, to the great Slander of the Navy, to the Diſcouragement of all them that are preſs'd thereunto, and to the Hinderance of his Majeſty's Service. For that many Times they go with a great Grudging to ſerve in his Majeſty's Ships, as if it were to be Slaves in the Gallies, ſo much do they ſtand in Fear of Penury and Hunger; the Caſe being clean contrary in all Merchants Ships, and therefore the Purveyors and Victuallers are much to be condemned, as not a little faulty in that Behalf, who make no little Profit of thoſe Pelings, which is Cauſe very

lamentable, that ſuch as ſit in Eaſe at home, ſhould ſo raiſe a Benefit out of their Hunger and Thirſt that ſerve their Prince and Country painfully abroad, whereof there hath a long Time been great complaining, but ſmall Reformation.

Of Beer-Caſks.

There is alſo daily Proof made what great Inconveniencies grow by the bad Caſk which is uſed in his Majeſty's Ships, being commonly ſo ill ſeaſoned and conditioned, as that a great Part of the Beer is ever loſt and caſt away; or (if for Neceſſity it be uſed) it breeds Infection, and corrupts all thoſe that drink thereof; for the Victuallers, for Cheapneſs, will buy ſtale Caſk that hath been uſed for Herrings, Train-Oil, Fiſh, and other ſuch unſavory Things, and thereinto fill the Beer that is provided for the King's Ships. Beſides, the Caſk is commonly ſo ill hooped, as that there is waſte and leaking made of the fourth Part of all the Drink, were it never ſo good, which is a great Expence to his Majeſty, a Hindrance of Service, and a Hazard of Men's Lives, when the Proviſion fails ſo much and anſwers not the Accompt. The which might eaſily be redreſſed, if the Caſk for his Majeſty's Shipping were purpoſely hooped in ſuch Sort as Wine Caſk is, or elſe hooped with Iron, which would ever ſerve, and ſave that continual Proviſion of new Caſk, which now falls out every Voyage. But this Courſe were more profitable for his Majeſty than for his Officers, and therefore unpleaſing to be ſpoken of; but yet ſuch as ſerve in the Ships have good Cauſe to wiſh the Reformation thereof.

Of the Cock-rooms in his Majeſty's Ships.

And whereas now the Cook-rooms in all of his Majeſty's Ships are made below in Hold in the Waſte, the Incon-

Inconveniencies thereof are found many Ways by daily Uſe and Experience. For firſt, it is a great Spoil and Annoyance to all the Drink and Victuals which are beſtowed in the Hold, by the Heat that comes from the Cook-room. Beſides, it is very dangerous for Fire, and very offenſive with the Smoke and unſavory Smells which it ſends from thence. Moreover, it is a great Weakening to a Ship to have ſo much Weight and Charge at both the Ends, and nothing in the Midſhip, which cauſeth them to warp, and (in the Sea-phraſe, with Mariners) is termed Camberkeel'd: Whereas, if the Cook-rooms were made in the Forecaſtle (as very fitly they might be) all thoſe Inconveniencies above ſpecified would be avoided, and then alſo would there be more room for Stowage of Victuals, or any other neceſſary Proviſions, whereof there is now daily found great Want. And the Commodity of this new Cook-room the Merchants have found to be ſo great, as that in all their Ships (for the moſt Part) the Cook-rooms are built in their Forecaſtles, contrary to that which hath been anciently uſed. In which Change, notwithſtanding, they have found no Inconvenience to their dreſſing of Meat in foul Weather, but rather a great Eaſe, howbeit their Ships go as long Voyages as any, and are, for their Burdens, as well man'd. For if any Storms ariſe, or the Sea grow ſo high as that the Kettle cannot boil in the Forecaſtles, yet having with their Beer and Biſket, Butter and Cheeſe, and with their pickled Herrings, Oil, Vinegar and Onions, or with their red Herrings and dry Sprats, Oil and Muſtard, and other like Proviſions that needs no Fire, theſe ſupply, and Varieties of Victuals, will very ſufficiently content (and nouriſh) Men for a Time, until the Storm be overblown that kept the Kettle from boiling.

Of Muſtering and Preſſing able Mariners.

As concerning the Muſters and Preſſes for ſufficient Mariners to ſerve in his Majeſty's Ships, either the Care therein is very little, or the Bribery very great; ſo that of all other Shipping, his Majeſty's are ever the worſt man'd, and at ſuch Times as the Commiſſioners Commiſſions come out for the preſſing of Mariners, the Officers do ſet out the moſt needy and unable Men, and (for Conſiderations to themſelves beſt known) do diſcharge the better Sort, a Matter ſo commonly uſed, as that it is grown into a Proverb amongſt the Sailors, That the Muſter-maſters do carry the beſt and ableſt Men in their Pockets, a Cuſtom very evil and dangerous, where the Service and Uſe of Men ſhould come in Trial. For many of theſe poor Fiſhermen and Idlers, that are commonly preſented to his Majeſty's Ships, are ſo ignorant in Sea-ſervice, as that they know not the Name of a Rope, and therefore inſufficient forſuch Labour. The which might eaſily be redreſſed, if the Vice-Admiral of the Shire where Men are muſtered, and two Juſtices, had Directions given to join with the Muſter-maſters for the Preſſing of the beſt Men, whom they well know, and would not ſuffer the Service of their Prince and Country to be bought and ſold, as a private Muſter-maſter would do. Beſides, the Captains themſelves of the Ships, if they be bare and needy (though pity it were that Men of ſuch Condition ſhould have ſuch Charge committed unto them) will oftentimes for Commodity chop and change away their good Men, and therefore it were fitly provided to bridle ſuch odd Captains, that neither they themſelves, nor any of their Men, ſhould receive his Majeſty's Pay but by the Pole, and according as they were ſet down in the Officers Books when they were delivered, without changing of any Names, except to ſupply ſuch Men as are wanting by Death or Sickneſs, upon good Teſtimony under the Hands

Hands of the Maſter, the Boatſwain, the Maſter-Gunner, the Purſer, and other Officers of the Ship. For it nearly concerns them to look well thereunto, having daily Uſe of them.

Of Arms and Munition.

It were a Courſe very comfortable, defenſive and honourable, that there were for all his Majeſty's Ships a Proportion of Swords, Targets of Proof, Morions, and Curats of Proof, allowed and ſet down for every Ship, according to his Burden, as a Thing both warlike, and uſed in the King of *Spain*'s Ships, the Want whereof, as it is a great Diſcouragement to Men, if they come to any near Fight or Landing, ſo would the Uſe thereof be a great Annoyance and terrifying to the Enemy. And herein ſhould his Majeſty need to be at no extraordinary Expence; for the abating of the ſuperfluous great Pieces in every Ship, with their Allowance for Powder, Match and Shot, would ſupply the Coſt of this Proviſion in very ample Manner.

Of Captains to ſerve in his Majeſty's Ships.

At all ſuch Times as his Majeſty's Ships are employed in Service, it were very convenient that ſuch Gentlemen as are his Majeſty's own ſworn Servants, ſhould be preferred to the Charge of his Majeſty's Ships, Choice being made of Men of Valour and Capacity, rather than to employ other Men's Men; and that other of his Majeſty's Servants ſhould be diſperſed privately in thoſe Services to gain Experience, and to make themſelves able to take Charge. By the which Means his Majeſty ſhould ever have Gentlemen of good Account, his own Servants, Captains of his own Ships, inſtead of petty Companions and other Men's Servants, who are often employed, being, indeed, a great Indignity to his Majeſty, to his Shipping, and to his own Gentlemen. For that in Times paſt, it hath been reputed

puted a great Grace to any Man of the beſt Sort, to have the Charge of the Prince's Ship committed unto him; and by this Means there would ever be true Report made unto the Prince what Proceedings are uſed in the Service, which theſe meaner Sort of Captains dare not do, for fear of diſpleaſing the Lords their Maſters, by whom they are preferred, or being of an inferior Quality, have no good Acceſs to the Preſence of the Prince, whereby to have fit Opportunity to make Relation accordingly.

But now, foraſmuch as I doubt not but that ſome contrary Spirits may, or will, object this as a ſufficient Reaſon to infirm all thoſe Points that I have formerly ſpoken of, and ſay unto me, Why ſhould his Majeſty and the State be troubled with this needleſs Charge of keeping and maintaining ſo great a Navy in ſuch exquiſite Perfection and Readineſs? The Times being now peaceable, and little Uſe of Arms or Ships of War, either at home or abroad, but all ſafe and ſecure, as well by the uniting of the two Nations, as by the Peace which we hold with *Spain*, and all other Chriſtian Princes? To this I anſwer, That this, indeed, may ſtand (at the firſt Sight) for a pretty ſuperficial Argument to blear our Eyes, and lull us aſleep in Security, and make us negligent and careleſs of thoſe Cauſes from whence the Effects of Peace grows, and by the Virtue whereof it muſt be maintained. But we muſt not flatter and deceive ourſelves, to think that this Calm and Concord proceeds either from a ſettled immutable Tranquillity in the World (which is full of Alterations and various Humours) or from the good Affections of our late Enemies, who have taſted too many Diſgraces, Repulſes, and Loſſes, by our Forces and Shipping, to wiſh our State ſo much Felicity as a happy and peaceable Government, if otherwiſe they had Power to hinder it. And therefore though the Sword be put into the Sheath, we muſt not ſuffer it there to ruſt, or ſtick ſo faſt, as that we ſhall not be able to draw it readily when

when Need requires. For albeit our Enemies have of late Years ſought Peace with us, yet hath it proceeded out of the former Trial of our Forces in Times of War and Enmity. And therefore we may well ſay of them, as *Anneus (Prætor* of the *Latins*) ſaid of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, who ſeemed curious and careful to have the League maintained between them (which the *Roman* Eſtate was not accuſtomed to ſeek at their Neighbours Hands) and thereupon ſaith this *Anneus*, *unde hæc illis tanta modeſtia niſi ex cognitione virum & noſtrarum & ſuarum.* For with the like Conſideration and Reſpect have our late Enemies ſought to renew the ancient Friendſhip and Peace with us. And well we may be aſſured, that if thoſe powerful Means, whereby we reduced them to that Modeſty and Courteſy as to ſeek us, were utterly laid aſide and neglected, ſo as we could not again, upon Occaſion readily aſſume the Uſe and Benefit of them as we have done; thoſe proud maſtering Spirits, finding us at ſuch Advantage, would be more ready and willing to ſhake us by the Ears as Enemies, than to take us by the Hands as Friends. And therefore far be it from our Hearts to truſt more to that Friendſhip of Strangers, that is but diſſembled upon Policy and Neceſſity, than to the Strength of our own Forces, which hath been experienced with ſo happy Succeſs. I confeſs, that Peace is a great Bleſſing of God, and bleſſed are the Peace-makers, and therefore, doubtleſs, bleſſed are thoſe Means whereby Peace is gained and maintained. For well we know, that God worketh all Things here amongſt us mediately by a ſecondary Means, the which Means of our Defence and Safety being Shipping, and Sea-Forces, are to be eſteemed as his Gifts, and then only available and beneficial, when he withal vouchſafeth his Grace to uſe them aright.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

TRADE and COMMERCE

With the

HOLLANDER, and other Nations.

Preſented to King *JAMES*;

Wherein is proved,

That our Sea and Land Commodities ſerve to inrich and ſtrengthen other Countries againſt our own.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

ACcording to my Duty, I am imboldened to put your Majeſty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen Years paſt, I preſented you a Book of extraordinary Importance for the Honour and Profit of your Majeſty and Poſterity; and doubting that it hath been laid aſide, and not conſidered of, I am encouraged (under your Majeſty's Pardon) to preſent unto you one more, conſiſting of five Propoſitions: Neither are they grounded upon vain or idle Grounds, but upon the Fruition of thoſe wonderful Bleſſings wherewith God hath endued your Majeſty's Sea and Land; by which Means you may not only inrich and fill your Coffers, but alſo increaſe ſuch Might and Strength, (as ſhall appear, if it may ſtand with your Majeſty's good liking to put the ſame in Execution in the true and right Form:) ſo that there is no Doubt but it will make you in ſhort Time a Prince of ſuch Power, ſo great, as ſhall make all the Princes your Neighbours, as well glad of your Friendſhip, as fearful to offend you. That this is ſo, I humbly deſire that your Majeſty will vouchſafe to peruſe this Advertiſement with that Care and Judgment which God hath given you.

Moſt humbly praying your Majeſty, that whereas I preſented theſe five Propoſitions together, as in their own Natures, jointly depending one of another, and ſo linked together, as the Diſtraction of any one will be an apparent Maim and Diſabling to the reſt; that your Majeſty would be pleaſed that they may not be ſeparated, but all handled together jointly and ſeverally, by Commiſſioners, with as much Speed and Secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your Majeſty, whereby I may be the better able to perform to your Highneſs that which I have promiſed, and will perform upon my Life, if I be not prevented by

ſome that may ſeek to hinder the Honour and Profit of your Majeſty for their own private Ends.

The true Ground, Courſe and Form, herein mentioned, ſhall appear how other Countries make themſelves powerful and rich in all Kinds, by Merchandize, Manufactory, and Fulneſs of Trade, having no Commodities in their own Country growing to do it withal.

And herein likewiſe ſhall appear, how eaſy it is to draw the Wealth and Strength of other Countries to your Kingdom, and what royal, rich, and plentiful Means God hath given this Land to do it (which cannot be denied) for Support of Traffick, and continual Employment of your People, for repleniſhing of your Majeſty's Coffers.

And if I were not fully aſſured to improve your native Commodities, with other Traffick, three Millions of Pounds more yearly than now they are, and to bring not only to your Majeſty's Coffers, within the Space of two or three Years, near two Millions of Pounds, but to increaſe your Revenues many Thouſands yearly, and to pleaſe and greatly profit your People, I would not have undertaken ſo great a Work: All which will grow by Advancement of all Kind of Merchandizing to the uttermoſt, thereby to bring Manufactory into the Kingdom, and to ſet on Work all Sorts of People in the Realm, as other Nations do, which raiſe their Greatneſs by the Abundance of your native Commodities, whilſt we are parling and diſputing whether it be good for us or not.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

TRADE and COMMERCE, &c.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

I Have diligently, in my Travels, obſerved how the Countries herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all Things to ſerve themſelves and other Nations, where nothing groweth; and that their never dryed Fountains of Wealth, by which they raiſe their Eſtate to ſuch an admirable Height, as that they are at this Day even a Wonder to the World, proceedeth from your Majeſty's Seas and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into the Depth of their Policies and circumventing Practices, whereby they drain, and ſtill covet to exhauſt, the Wealth and Coin of this Kingdom, and ſo with our own Commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of Trading in other Countries. I found that they more fully obtained theſe their Purpoſes by their convenient Privileges, and ſettled conſtitutions, than *England* with all the Laws, and ſuperabundance of home-bred Commodities which God hath vouchſafed your Sea and Land: And theſe, and other mentioned in this Book, are the urgent Cauſes that provoked me, in my Love and bounden Duty to your Majeſty and my Country, to addreſs my former Books to your princely Hands and Conſideration.

By which Privileges they draw Multitudes of Merchants to trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongſt them, which makes them populous, and there they make Store-houſes of all foreign Commo-

dities, wherewith, upon every Occaſion of Scarcity and Dearth, they are able to furniſh foreign Countries with Plenty of thoſe Commodities, which before in Time of Plenty they engroſſed and brought home from the ſame Places; which doth greatly augment Power, Treaſure to their State, beſides the common Good in ſetting their Poor and People on Work.

To which Privileges they add Smallneſs of Cuſtom, and Liberty of Trade, which maketh them flouriſh, and their Country ſo plentiful of all Kind of Coin and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants ſo flouriſh, that when a Loſs cometh they ſcarce feel it.

To bring this to paſs they have many Advantages of us; the one is, by their faſhioned Ships called Boyers, Hoy-barks, Hoys, and others that are made to hold great Bulk of Merchandiſe, and to ſail with a few Men for Profit. For Example, though an *Engliſh* Ship of two hundred Tons, and a *Holland* Ship, or any other of the petty States of the ſame Burden be at *Dantzick*, or any other Place beyond the Seas, or in *England*, they do ſerve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred Pounds in his Freight than we can, by reaſon he hath but nine or ten Mariners, and we near thirty; thus he ſaveth twenty Men's Meat and Wages in a Voyage; and ſo in all other their Ships according to their Burden, by which Means they are freighted whereſoever they come, to great Profit, whilſt our Ships lie ſtill and decay, or go to *Newcaſtle* for Coals.

Of this their Smallneſs of Cuſtom inwards and outwards, we have daily Experience; for if two *Engliſh* Ships, or two of any other Nations be at *Bourdeaux*, both laden with Wine of three hundred Tons apiece, the one bound for *Holland*, or any other petty States, the other for *England*, the Merchant ſhall pay about nine hundred Pounds Cuſtom here, and other Duties, when the other in *Holland*, or any other petty States, ſhall be cleared for leſs than fifty Pounds, and ſo in all other

other Wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which draws all Nations to traffick with them; and although it ſeems but ſmall Duties which they receive, yet the Multitudes of all Kind of Commodities and Coin that is brought in by themſelves and others, and carried out by themſelves and others, is ſo great, that they receive more Cuſtom and Duties to the State, by the Greatneſs of their Commerce in one Year, than *England* doth in two Years; for the one hundredth Part of Commodities are not ſpent in *Holland*, but vended into other Countries, which maketh all the Country Merchants to buy and ſell, and increaſe Ships and Mariners to tranſport them.

My Travels and Meaning is not to diminiſh (neither hath been) your Majeſty's Revenues, but exceedingly to increaſe them, as ſhall appear, and yet pleaſe the People, as in other Parts they do.

Notwithſtanding their Exciſes bring them in great Revenues, yet whoſoever will adventure to *Bourdeaux* but for ſix Tons of Wine, ſhall be free of Exciſe in his own Houſe all the Year long; and this is done of purpoſe to animate and increaſe Merchants in their Country.

And if it happen that a Trade be ſtopped by any foreign Nation, which they heretofore uſually had, or hear of any good Trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and ſeek either by Favour, Money, or Force, to open the Gap of Traffick for Advancement of Trade amongſt themſelves, and Employment of their People.

And when there is a new Courſe or Trade erected, they give free Cuſtom inwards and outwards, for the better Maintenance of Navigation, and Encouragement of the People to that Buſineſs.

Thus they and others glean the Wealth and Strength from us to themſelves; and theſe Reaſons following procure them this Advantage of us.

1. The Merchant Staplers which maketh all Things in abundance, by reaſon of their Store-houſes continually repleniſhed with all Kind of Commodities.

2. The Liberty of free Traffick for Strangers to buy and ſell in *Holland*, and other Countries and States, as if they were free-born, maketh great Intercourſe.

3. The ſmall Duties levied upon Merchants, draws all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their faſhioned Ships continually freighted before ours, by reaſon of their few Mariners and great Bulk, ſerving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their Forwardneſs to further all manner of Trading.

6. Their wonderful Employment of their Buſſes for Fiſhing, and the great Returns they make.

7. Their giving free Cuſtom inwards and outwards, for any new-erected Trade, by Means whereof they have gotten already almoſt the ſole Trade into their Hands.

All Nations may buy and ſell freely in *France*, and there is free Cuſtom outwards twice or thrice in a Year, at which Time our Merchants themſelves do make their great Sales of *Engliſh* Commodities, and do buy and lade their great Bulk of *French* Commodities to ſerve for the whole Year; and in *Rochel* in *France*, and in *Britain*, free Cuſtom all the Year long, except ſome ſmall Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flouriſh.

In *Denmark*, to incourage and inrich the Merchants, and to increaſe Ships and Mariners, there is free Cuſtom all the Year long for their own Merchants, except one Month between *Bartholomew-tide* and *Michaelmas*.

The *Hans-towns* have Advantage of us, as *Holland* and other petty States have, and in moſt Things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentiful of all Kind of Commodities and Coin, and ſo ſtrong in Ships and Mariners, that ſome of their Towns have near one thouſand Sail of Ships.

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The Merhandiſes of *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Turkey*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, are tranſported moſt by the *Hollanders*, and other petty States, into the Eaſt and North-eaſt Kingdoms of *Pomerland*, *Spruceland*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweedland*, *Leifland*, and *Germany*, and the Merchandiſes brought from the laſt-mentioned Kingdoms, being wonderful many, are likewiſe by the *Hollanders* and other petty States moſt tranſported into the Southern and Weſtern Dominions, and yet the Situation of *England* lieth far better for a Store-houſe to ſerve the South-eaſt and North-eaſt Regions than theirs doth, and hath far better Means to do it, if we will bend our Courſe for it.

No ſooner a Dearth of Fiſh, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandiſe, but forthwith the *Embdeners*, *Hamburghers*, and *Hollanders*, out of their Store-houſes, lade fifty or one hundred Ships, or more, diſperſing themſelves round about this Kingdom, and carry away great Store of Coin and Wealth for little Commodity, in thoſe Times of Dearth; by which Means they ſuck our Commonwealth of her Riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation; not with their natural Commodities, which grow in their own Countries, but the Merchandiſes of other Countries and Kingdoms.

Therefore it is far more eaſy to ſerve ourſelves, hold up our Merchants, and increaſe our Ships and Mariners, and ſtrengthen the Kingdom; and not only keep our Money in our own Realm, which other Nations ſtill rob us of, but bring in theirs who carry ours away, and make the Bank of Coin and Store-houſe to ſerve other Nations as well, and far better cheap than they.

Amſterdam is never without ſeven hundred thouſand Quarters of Corn, beſides the Plenty they daily vend, and none of this groweth in their own Country: A Dearth in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, and other Places, is truly obſerved to enrich *Holland* ſeven Years after, and likewiſe the petty States.

For Example, the laſt Dearth, ſix Years paſt, the *Hamburghers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders*, out of their Store-houſes, furniſhed this Kingdom; and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Briſtol*, in a Year and a Half, they carried away near two hundred thouſand Pounds from theſe Parts only: Then what great Quantity of Coin was tranſported round about your Kingdom from every Port-Town, and from your City of *London*, and other Cities, cannot be eſteemed ſo little as two Millions, to the great Decay of your Kingdom, and impoveriſhing your People. Diſcredit to the Company of Merchants, and Diſhonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corn in their own Country growing, ſhould ſerve this famous Kingdom, which God hath ſo enabled within itſelf.

They have a continual Trade into this Kingdom with five or ſix hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandiſes of other Countries and Kingdoms, and ſtore them up in Store-houſes here until the Prices riſe to their Minds; and we trade not with fifty Ships into their Country in a Year, and the ſaid Number are about this Realm every Eaſtern Wind, for the moſt Part to lade Coals and other Merchandiſe.

Unleſs there be a Scarcity, or Dearth, or high Prices, all Merchants do forbear that Place where great Impoſitions are laid upon the Merchandiſe, and thoſe Places ſlenderly ſhipped, ill ſerved, and at dear Rates, and oftentimes in Scarcity, and want Employment for the People; and thoſe petty States finding truly by Experience, that ſmall Duties impoſed upon Merchandiſe draw all Traffick unto them, and free Liberty for Strangers to buy and ſell doth make continual Mart; therefore whatever Exciſes or Impoſitions are laid upon the common People, yet they ſtill eaſe, uphold and maintain the Merchants by all poſſible Means, of Purpoſe to draw the Wealth and Strength of Chriſtendom to themſelves; whereby it appeareth, though the Duties be but ſmall, yet the Cuſtoms for going out and coming in do

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ſo abound, that they increaſe their Revenues greatly, and make Profit, Plenty and Employment of all Sorts, by Sea and Land, to ſerve themſelves and other Nations, as is admirable to behold: And likewiſe the great Commerce, which groweth by the ſame Means, enableth the common People to bear their Burden laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reaſon of the great Commerce and Trade, occaſioned by their convenient Privileges and commodious Conſtitutions.

There was an Intercourſe of Traffick in *Genoa*, and there was the Flower of Commerce, as appeareth by their antient Records, and their ſumptuous Buildings; for all Nations traded with Merchandiſe to them, and there was the Store-houſe of all *Italy*, and other Places; but after they had ſet a great Cuſtom of 16 *per Cent.* all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themſelves wholly to Uſury, and at this Day we have not three Ships go there in a Year: But to the contrary, the Duke of *Florence* builded *Legborn*, and ſet ſmall Cuſtom upon Merchandiſe, and gave them great and pleaſing Privileges, which hath made a rich and ſtrong City, with a flouriſhing State.

Furthermore, touching ſome Particulars needful to be conſidered of the mighty huge Fiſhing that ever could be heard of in the World, is upon the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the great Fiſhery is in the *Low-Countries*, and other petty States, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and all Chriſtendom, as ſhall appear.

In four Towns in the Eaſt Kingdoms within the *Sound*, *Quinsbrough*, *Elbing*, *Statten*, and *Dantzick*, there are carried and vended in a Year, between thirty and forty thouſand Laſts of Herrrings, ſold but at fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſt, is about ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, and we none.

Beſides, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Leifland*, *Rie*, *Nevill*, the *Narve*, and other Port Towns within the *Sound*, there is carried and vended above ten thouſand

Laſts of *Herrings*, ſold at fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſt, is one hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds more yearly; in ſuch Requeſt are our Herrings there, that they are oftentimes ſold for twenty, twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-ſix Pounds the Laſt, and we ſend not one Barrel into all thoſe Eaſt Countries.

The *Hollanders* ſent into *Ruſſia* near fifteen hundred Laſts of Herrings, ſold about thirty Shillings the Barrel, amounteth to twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds, and we but about twenty or thirty Laſts.

To *Stoade*, *Hamborough*, *Bremen* and *Embden*, upon the River of *Elve*, *Weſer*, and *Embs*, are carried and vended, of Fiſh and Herrings, about ſix thouſand Laſts, ſold about fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſt, is one hundred thouſand Pounds, and we none.

Cleaveland, *Gulickland*, up the River of *Rhine* to *Cullen*, *Francfort*, or the *Main*, and ſo over all *Germany*, is carried and vended, Fiſh and Herrings, near twenty-two thouſand Laſt, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, is four hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, and we none.

Up the River of *Maiz*, *Leigh*, *Maeſtrich*, *Venlow*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Campen*, *Swoole*, and all over *Lukeland*, is carried and vended ſeven thouſand Laſts of Herrings, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, is one hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, and we none.

To *Guelderland*, *Artois*, *Hainault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-Duke's Countries, are carried and vended between eight or nine thouſand Laſts, ſold at eighteen Pounds the laſt, is one hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand Pounds, and we none.

The *Hollanders*, and others, carried of all Sorts of Herrings to *Roan* only in one Year, beſides all other Parts of *France*, fifty thouſand Laſts of Herrings, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, is ten hundred thouſand Pounds, and we not one hundred Laſts thither; they

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are ſold oftentimes there for twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty Pounds the Laſt.

Between *Chriſtmas* and *Lent*, the Duties for Fiſh and Herrings came to fifteen thouſand Crowns at *Roan* only, that Year the Queen deceaſed; Sir *Thomas Parry* was Agent there then, and *S. Savors* his Man, knows it to be true, who handled the Buſineſs for pulling down the Impoſitions. Then what great Sums of Money came to all in the Port-Towns to inrich the *French* King's Coffers, and to all the King's and States throughout Chriſtendom, to inrich their Coffers; beſides the great Quantity vended to the Streights, and the Multitude ſpent in the *Low-Countries*, where there is likewiſe ſold for many a hundred thouſand Pounds more yearly, is neceſſary to be remembered; and the Stream to be turned to the Good of this Kingdom, to whoſe Sea-coaſts God only hath ſent and given theſe great Bleſſings, and Multitude of Riches for us to take, howſoever it hath been neglected, to the Hurt of this Kingdom, that any Nation ſhould carry away out of this Kingdom yearly great Maſs of Money for Fiſh taken in our Seas, and ſold again by them to us, which muſt needs be a great Diſhonour to our Nation, and Hindrance to this Realm.

From any Port-Town of any Kingdom within Chriſtendom, the Bridge-maſter, or Wharf-maſter, for twenty Shillings a Year, will deliver a true Note of the Number of Laſts of Herrings brought to their Wharfs, and their Prices commonly they are ſold at; but the Number brought to *Dantzick*, *Cullen*, *Rotterdam*, and *Enchuiſen*, is ſo great, as it will coſt three, four, or five Pounds for a true Note.

The Abundance of Corn groweth in the Eaſt Kingdoms, but the great Store-houſes for Grain to ſerve Chriſtendom, and the heathen Countries in the Time of Dearth, is in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith, upon every Occaſion of Scarcity and Dearth they do inrich themſelves ſeven Years after, employ their People, and get

get great Freights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that Courſe.

The mighty Vineyards and Store of Salt is in *France* and *Spain*; but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the *Low-Countries*, and they ſend near one thouſand Sail of Ships with Salt and Wine only into the Eaſt Kingdoms yearly, beſides other Places, and we not one in that Courſe.

The exceeding Groves of Wood are in the Eaſt Kingdoms, but the huge Piles of Wainſcot, Clapboard, Fir-deal, Maſts, and Timber, is in the *Low-Countries*, where none grow, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and other Parts, and this Kingdom with thoſe Commodities; they have five or ſix hundred great long Ships continually uſing that Trade, and we none in that Courſe.

The Wool, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and divers other Commodities, are in *England*; but by Means of our Wool and Cloth going out rough, undreſs'd, and undy'd, there is an exceeding Manufactory and Drapery in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and other Nations, and advance greatly the Employment of their People at home, and Traffick abroad, and put down ours in foreign Parts, where our Merchants trade unto, with our own Commodities.

We ſend into the Eaſt Kingdoms, yearly, but one hundred Ships, and our Trade chiefly dependeth upon three Towns, *Elbing*, *Kingſborough*, and *Dantzick*, for making our Sails, and buying their Commodities ſent into this Realm at dear Rates, which this Kindom bears the Burden of.

The *Low-Countries* ſend into the Eaſt Kingdoms yearly, about three thouſand Ships, trading into every City and Port-Town, taking the Advantage, and vending their Commodities to exceeding Profit, and buying and lading their Ships with Plenty of thoſe Commodities, which they have from every of thoſe Towns 20 *per Cent.* cheaper than we, by reaſon of the Difference of the

the Coin, and their Fiſh yields ready Money, which greatly advanceth their Traffick, and decayeth ours.

They ſend into *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, from the Eaſt Kingdoms that paſſeth through the *Sound*, and through your narrow Seas, yearly, of the Eaſt Country Commodities, about two thouſand Ships, and we none in that Courſe.

They trade into all Cities, and Port-Towns in *France*, and we chiefly to five or ſix.

They traffick into every City and Port-Town round about this Land, with five or ſix hundred Ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three Towns in their Country, and but with forty Ships.

Notwithſtanding the *Low-Countries* have as many Ships and Veſſels as eleven Kingdoms of Chriſtendom have, let *England* be one, and build every Year near one thouſand Ships, and not a Timber-tree growing in their own Country, and that alſo all their home-bred Commodities that grow in their Land in a Year, leſs than one hundred good Ships are able to carry them away at one Time; yet they handle the Matter ſo for ſetting them all on work, that their Traffick with the *Hans-towns* exceeds in Shipping all *Chriſtendom*.

We have all Things of our own in ſuper-abundance to increaſe Traffick, and Timber to build Ships, and Commodities of our own to lade about one thouſand Ships and Veſſels at one Time (beſides the great Fiſhing) and as faſt as they have made their Voyages might relade again, and ſo Year after Year all the Year long to continue; yet our Ships and Mariners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The main Bulk and Maſs of Herrings from whence they raiſe ſo many Millions yearly, that inrich other Kingdoms, Kings and States Coffers, and likewiſe their own People, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the Return of the Commodities and Coin they bring home in Exchange of Fiſh, and other Commodities, are ſo huge, as would require a large Diſcourſe apart;

apart; all the Amends they make us is, they beat us out of Trade in all Parts with our own Commodities.

For Inſtance, we had a great Trade in *Ruſſia* ſeventy Years, and about fourteen Years paſt we ſent Store of goodly Ships to trade in thoſe Parts, and three Years paſt we ſet out but four, and this laſt Year two or three; but to the contrary, the *Hollanders* about twenty Years ſince traded thither with two Ships only, yet now they are increaſed to about thirty or forty, and one of their Ships is as great as two of ours, and at the ſame time (in their Troubles there) that we decreaſed, they increaſed; and the chief Commodities they carry with them thither, is *Engliſh* Cloth, Herrings taken in our Seas, *Engliſh* Lead and Pewter made of our Tin, beſides other Commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap Country, and the Trade very gainful, yet we have almoſt brought it to nought, by diſorderly Trading, joint Stock, and the Merchants banding themſelves one againſt another.

And ſo likewiſe we uſed to have eight or nine great Ships to go continually a fiſhing to *Wardhouſe*, and this Year but one, and ſo, *pro rato*, they outgo us in all Kind of Fiſhing and Merchandizing in all Countries, by reaſon they ſpare no Coſt, nor deny no Privileges that may encourage Advancement of Trade and Manufactory.

Now if it pleaſe, and with your Majeſty's good Liking ſtand, to take Notice of theſe Things, which I conceive to be fit for your Majeſty's Conſideration, which in all Humbleneſs (as Duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your Majeſty, for the unfeigned Zeal I bear to the Advancement of your Honour and Profit, and the general Good of your Subjects; it being apparent, that no three Kingdoms in Chriſtendom can compare with your Majeſty for Support of Traffick, and continual Employment of your People within themſelves, having ſo many great Means, both by Sea and Land, to inrich your Coffers, multiply your Navy, inlarge your Traffick, make your Kingdoms powerful, and

your

your People rich; yet, through Idleneſs, they are poor, wanting Employment, many of your Land and Coaſt-Towns much ruinated, and your Kingdom in need of Coin, your Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners decayed, whilſt your Majeſty's Neighbour Princes, without theſe Means, abound in Wealth, inlarge their Towns, increaſe their Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners, and find out ſuch Employment for their People, that they are all advantageous to their Commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious Conſtitutions in Merchandizing, and Fulneſs of Trade and Manufactory.

God hath bleſs'd your Majeſty with incomparable Benefits; as with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allum, Copperas, Saffron, Fells, and divers other native Commodities, to the Number of about one Hundred, and other Manufactories vendible, to the Number of about one Thouſand, (as ſhall appear) beſides Corn, whereof great Quantity of Beer is made, and moſt tranſported by Strangers; as alſo Wool, whereof much is ſhipped forth unwrought into Cloth or Stuffs, and Cloth tranſported undreſs'd and undy'd, which doth employ and maintain near fifty thouſand People in foreign Parts, your Majeſty's People wanting the Employment in *England*, many of them being enforced to live in great Want, and ſeek it beyond the Seas.

Coals, which do employ hundreds of Strangers Ships yearly to tranſport them out of this Kingdom, whilſt we do not employ twenty Ships in that Courſe.

Iron Ordnance, which is a Jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reaſon that no other Country could ever attain unto it, although they have aſſayed with great Charge.

Your Majeſty hath Timber of your own for building of Ships, and Commodities plenty to lade them, which Commodities other Nations want, yet your Majeſty's People decline in Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners.

Theſe

Theſe Inconveniencies happen by three Cauſes eſpecially.

1. The unprofitable Courſe of Merchandiſing.

2. The Want of Courſe of full Manufactory of our home-bred Commodities.

3. The undervaluing of our Coins, contrary to the Rules of other Nations.

For Inſtance. The Merchant Adventurers by over-trading upon Credit, or with Money taken up upon Exchange, whereby they loſe uſually ten or twelve, and ſometimes fifteen or ſixteen *per Cent.* are enforced to make Sale of their Cloths at under Rates, or keep their Credit, whereby Cloth, being the Jewel of the Land, is undervalued, and the Merchant in ſhort Time eaten out.

The Merchants of *Ipſwich*, whoſe Trade for *Elbing* is chiefly for fine Cloths, all dy'd and dreſs'd within our Land, do, for the moſt Part, buy their fine Cloths upon Time; and by reaſon they go ſo much upon Credit, they are enforced (not being able to ſtand upon their Markets) to ſell, giving fifteen or eighteen Months Day of Payment for their Cloths, and having ſold them, they then preſently ſell their Bills ſo taken for Cloth, allowing after the Rate of fourteen or fifteen, and ſometimes twenty *per Cent.* which Money they employ forthwith in Wares at exceſſive Prices, and loſe as much more that Way, by that Time their Wares be ſold at home: Thus by over-running themſelves upon Credit, they diſable themſelves and others, inhancing the Prices of foreign Commodities, and pulling down the Rates of our own.

The Weſt-country Merchants that trade with Cloths into *France* or *Spain*, do uſually employ their Servants (young Men of ſmall Experience) who by cunning Combining of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Merchants, are ſo entrapped, that when all Cuſtoms and Charges be accounted, their Maſters ſhall hardly receive their principal Monies. As for Returns out of *France*, their Silver

Silver and Gold is ſo highly rated, that our Merchants cannot bring it home, but to great Loſs; therefore the *French* Merchants ſet higher Rates upon their Commodities, which we muſt either buy dear, or let our Monies lie dead there a long Time, until we can conveniently employ the ſame.

The Northern Merchants of *York*, *Hull*, and *Newcaſtle*, trade only in white Kerſeys and coloured, Dozens; and every Merchant, be his Adventure never ſo ſmall, doth, for the moſt part, ſend over an unexperienced Youth, unfit for merchandiſing, which bringeth to the Stranger great Advantage, but to his Maſter and Commonwealth great Hindrance; for they, before their Goods be landed, go to the Stranger, and buy ſuch Quantities of Iron, Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their Ships withal, which Ships they engage themſelves to relade within three Weeks, or a Month, and do give the Price the Merchant Stranger aſketh, becauſe he gives them Credit, and lets them ſhip away their Iron, Flax, and other Commodities, before they have ſold their Kerſeys, and other Commodities, by which Means extraordinary dear Commodities are returned into this Realm, and the Servant alſo enforced to ſell his Cloths under-foot, and oftentimes to Loſs, to keep his Credit, and to make Payment for the Goods before ſhipped home, having ſome twenty Days or a Month's Reſpite to ſell the Cloths, and to give the Merchant Satisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other Wares; by which Extremities our home-bred Commodities are abaſed.

Touching Manufactory.

There have been about fourſcore thouſand undreſs'd and undy'd Cloths yearly tranſported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom hath been yearly deprived of about four hundred thouſand Pounds within theſe five and fifty Years, which is near twenty

Millions that would have been gained by the Labour of poor Wokmen in that Time, with the Merchants Gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and Return of Cloths dreſs'd and dy'd, with other Benefits to the Realm, beſides exceeding enlarging of Traffick, and Increaſe of Ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that Time about three Millions, by Increaſe of Cuſtom upon Commodities returned for Cloths dreſs'd and dy'd, and for dying Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and uſed for the ſame.

There hath been alſo tranſported in that Time yearly by Bays, *Northern* and *Devonſhire* Kerſeys, white, about fifty thouſand Cloths, counting three Kerſeys to a Cloth, whereby hath been loſt about five Millions by thoſe Sorts of Cloths in that Time, which would have come to poor Workmen for their Labour, with the Cuſtoms for dying Stuffs, and the People's Profit for bringing them in, with Returns of other Commodities, and Freights for Shipping.

Bays are tranſported white into *Amſterdam*, and there being dreſs'd and dy'd, are ſhipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdoms, where they are ſold in the Name of *Flemiſh* Bays, ſetting their own Town-Seal upon them; ſo that we loſe the very Name of our home-bred Commodities, and other Countries get the Reputation and Profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this Land ſhould be deprived of ſo many above-mentioned Millions, and that our native Commodities of Cloth, ordained by God for the natural Subjects, being ſo royal and rich in itſelf, ſhould be driven to ſo ſmall Advantage of Reputation and Profit to your Majeſty and People, and ſo much improved and intercepted by Strangers, conſidering that God hath enabled, and given your Majeſty Power to advance dreſſing and dying, and tranſporting of all your Cloths within a Year or two; I ſpeak it knowingly, to ſhew how it may be done

done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feaſable, and profitable.

All the Companies of your Land tranſport their Cloths dreſs'd and dy'd, to the Good of your Kingdom, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the *Eaſtland* and *Turkey* Merchants, with other Companies, do increaſe your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, by bringing in, and ſpending dying Stuffs, and ſetting your People on work, by dreſſing before they tranſport them; and they might increaſe far more Cuſtom to your Majeſty, and make much more Profit to themſelves and this Realm, and ſet many Thouſands of poor People more on work for dreſſing and dying, and likewiſe employ more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dying Stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who tranſport their Cloths white, rough, undreſs'd and undy'd, into the *Low-Countries*, where they ſell them to the Strangers, who afterwards dreſs, dye, and ſtretch them to ſuch *unreaſonable Lengths*, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and foreſtall our Markets, and croſs the juſt Prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers Places with our own Cloths, to the great Decay of this Kingdom in general, and Diſcredit of our Cloths in particular.

If the Accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear Profit only by Cloth tranſported rough, undreſs'd, and undy'd, ſixty thouſand Pounds a Year: But it is moſt apparent your Majeſty in your Cuſtoms, your Merchants in their Sales and Prices, your Subjects in their Labours, for lack of not dreſſing and dying, your Ships and Mariners, in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, and ſpending of Allum, is hindered yearly near a Million of Pounds; ſo that Trade is driven to the great Hindrance of your Majeſty and People, by permitting your native Commodities to paſs rough, undreſs'd, and undy'd, by the Merchant Adventurer.

Touching Fiſhing.

The great Sea-buſineſs of Fiſhing doth employ near twenty thouſand Ships and Veſſels, and four hundred thouſand People are employed yearly upon your Coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with ſixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three thouſand Ships to fiſh withal, and fifty thouſand People are employed yearly by them upon your Majeſty's Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Theſe three thouſand fiſhing Ships and Veſſels of the *Hollanders* do employ near nine thouſand other Ships and Veſſels, and one hundred and fifty thouſand Perſons more by Sea and Land to make Proviſion to dreſs and tranſport the Fiſh they take, and return Commodities, whereby they are enabled, and do build yearly one thouſand Ships and Veſſels, having not one Timber-tree growing in their own Country, nor home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred Ships, and yet they have twenty thouſand Ships and Veſſels, and all employed.

King *Henry* the Seventh, deſirous to make his Kingdoms powerful and rich, by Increaſe of Ships and Mariners, and Employment of his People, ſent unto his Sea-coaſt Towns, moving them to ſet up the great and rich Fiſhing, with Promiſe to give them needful Privileges, and to furniſh them with Loans of Money, if need were, to encourage them; yet his People were ſlack. Now ſince I have traced this Buſineſs, and made mine Endeavours known unto your Majeſty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, (who having ſet down under their Hands for more Aſſurance) promiſed to diſburſe large Sums of Money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea-city, which will increaſe more Strength to your Land, give more Comfort, and do more good to all your Cities and Towns, than all the Companies of your Kingdom, having fit

and

and needful Privileges, for the upholding and ſtrengthning of ſo weighty and needful a Buſineſs.

For Example, twenty Buſſes built and put into a Soa-coaſt Town where there is not one Ship before, there muſt be to carry, recarry, tranſport, and make Proviſion for one Buſs, three Ships; likewiſe every Ship ſetting on work thirty ſeveral Trades and Occupations, and four hundred thouſand Perſons by Sea and Land, inſomuch as three hundred Perſons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four Months for one Buſs, which is no ſmall Employment.

Thus by twenty Buſſes are ſet on work, near eight thouſand Perſons by Sea and Land, and an Increaſe of above one thouſand Mariners, and a Fleet of eighty Sail of Ships to belong to one Town, where none were before to take the Wealth out of the Sea, to inrich and ſtrengthen the Land, only by raiſing of twenty Buſſes.

Then what good one thouſand or two thouſand will do, I leave to your Majeſty's Conſideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how neceſſary Fiſhermen are to the Commonwealth, and how needful to be advanced and cheriſhed, *&c.*

1. For taking God's Bleſſing out of the Sea to inrich the Realm, which otherwiſe we loſe.

2. For ſetting the People on work.

3. For making Plenty and Cheapneſs in the Realm.

4. For increaſing of Shipping, to make the Land powerful.

5. For a continual Nurſery for breeding and increaſing our Mariners.

6. For making Employment of all Sorts of People, as blind, lame, and others, by Sea and Land, from ten or twelve Years and upwards.

7. For inriching your Majeſty's Coffers, by Merchandiſes returned from other Countries for Fiſh and Herrings.

8. For the Increaſe and enabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

Touching the Coin.

For the moſt Part, all Monarchies and free States, both Heathen and Chriſtian, as *Turky*, *Barbary*, *France*, *Poland*, and others, do hold for a Rule of never-failing Profit, to keep their Coin at higher Rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdoms.

The Cauſes.

1. To preſerve the Coin within their own Territories.

2. To bring unto themſelves the Coin of foreign Princes.

3. To enforce Merchant Strangers to take their Commodities at high Rates, which this Kingdom bears the Burden of.

For Inſtance.

The King of *Barbary* perceiving the Trade of Chriſtian Merchants to increaſe in his Kingdom, and that the Returns out of his Kingdoms were moſt in Gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raiſed his Ducat (being then current for three Ounces) to four, five, and ſix Ounces; nevertheleſs it was no more worth in *England*, being ſo raiſed, than when it went for three Ounces.

This Ducat, current for three Ounces in *Barbary*, was then worth in *England* ſeven Shillings and Sixpence; and no more Worth, being raiſed to ſix Ounces; ſince which Time (adding to it a ſmall Piece of Gold) he hath raiſed it to eight, and laſtly, to ten Ounces; yet at this Day it is worth but ten Shillings and one Penny, notwithſtanding your Majeſty's late raiſing of your Gold.

Having thus raiſed his Gold, he then deviſed to have Plenty of Silver brought into his Kingdom, raiſed the

the Royal of Eight, being but two Ounces, to three and three Pence Half-penny, which cauſed great Plenty of Silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdom.

FRANCE.

The *Engliſh Jacobus* goeth for three and twenty Shillings in merchandizing.

The *French* Crown for ſeven Shillings and Six-pence.

Alſo the King hath raiſed his Silver four Souce in the Crown.

NORTH-HOLLAND.

The double *Jacobus* goeth for three and twenty Shillings *Sterling*.

The *Engliſh* Shilling is there eleven Stivers, which is two Shillings over in the Pound.

POLAND.

The King of *Poland* raiſed his *Hungary* Ducat from fifty-ſix to ſeventy-ſeven and an half *Poliſh* Groſhes, and the Rix-Dollar from thirty-ſix to forty-ſeven and an half Groſhes; the Rix-Dollar, worth in *Poland* forty-ſeven and an half Groſhes, is, by Account, valued at ſix Shillings and Four-pence *Sterling*, and here in *England* is worth but four Shillings and Seven pence; the *Hungary* Ducat, ſeventy-ſeven, is worth, by Account, in *Poland* ten Shillings and Four-pence, and in *England* is worth but ſeven Shillings and Ten-pence; the *Jacobus* of *England*, here current for twenty-two Shillings, in *Poland* twenty-four Shillings, at the Rate of ſeven Shillings and Ten-pence for the *Hungary* Ducat.

Now to turn the Stream and Riches raiſed by your Majeſty's native Commodities into the natural Channel, from whence it hath been a long Time diverted; may it pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider theſe Points following.

1. Whether it be not fit that a State-Merchant be ſettled within your Dominions, which may both diſpoſe more profitably of the Riches thereof, and encounter Policies of Merchant Strangers, who now go beyond us in all Kind of profitable Merchandiſing?

2. Whether it be not neceſſary, that your native Commodities ſhould receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions?

3. Whether it be not fit the Coals ſhould yield your Majeſty and Subjects a better Value, by permitting them to paſs out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects Shipping only tranſported?

4. Whether it be not fit your Majeſty preſently raiſe your Coin to as high Rates as it is in the Parts beyond the Seas?

5. Whether it be not neceſſary that the great Sea-buſineſs of Fiſhing be forthwith ſet forward?

If it pleaſe your Majeſty to approve of theſe Conſiderations, and accordingly to put them in a right Courſe of Execution, I aſſure myſelf (by God's Help) in ſhort Time your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, and the continual comings into your Coffers, will be exceedingly increaſed, your Ships and Mariners trebled, your Land and waſte Towns (which are now run out of Gates) better repleniſhed, and your People employed, to the great inriching and Honour of your Kingdom, with the Applauſe, and to the Comfort of all your Loyal Subjects.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I have the rather undergone the Pains to look into their Policies, becauſe I have heard them profeſs they hoped to get the whole Trade and Shipping of Chriſtendom into their own Hands, as well for Tranſportation, as otherwiſe, for the Command and Maſtery of the Seas; to which End I find that they do daily increaſe their Traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Mariners Strength and Wealth in all Kinds, whereat

whereat I have grieved the more, when I conſider'd how God hath endued this Kingdom, above any three Kingdoms in Chriſtendom, with divers Varieties of home-bred Commodities, which others have not, and cannot want, and endowed us with ſundry other Means to continue and maintain Trade of Merchandiſing and Fiſhing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the Deceivers, ingroſs the Commodities of the Ingroſſers, inrich ourſelves, and increaſe our Navigation, Shipping, and Mariners, ſo as it would make all Nations to vail the Bonnet to *England*, if we would not be ſtill wanting to ourſelves in Employment of our People.

Which People being divided into three Parts, two Parts of them are mere Spenders and Conſumers of a Commonwealth, therefore I aim at theſe Points following.

To allure and encourage the People for their private Gain, to be all Workers and Erecters of a Commonwealth.

To inrich and fill your Majeſty's Coffers by a continual coming in, and making your People wealthy, by Means of their great and profitable Trading and Employment.

To vend our home-bred Commodities to far more Reputation, and much more Profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdom.

To return the Merchandiſes of other Countries at far cheaper Rates than now they are, to the great Good of the Realm in general.

To make the Land powerful by increaſing of Ships and Mariners.

To make your People's Takings in general to be much more every Day than now they are, which, by God's Help, will grow continually more and more, by the great Concourſe and Commerce that will come by ſettled Conſtitutions and convenient Privileges, as in other Parts they do by this their great Freedom of Trade.

All this, and much more, is done in other Countries, where nothing groweth; ſo that of nothing they make great Things.

Then how much more mighty Things might we make, where ſo great Abundance and Variety of home-bred Commodities and rich Materials grow for your People to work upon, and other plentiful Means to do that withal, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of Neceſſity muſt be furniſhed from hence? And now, whereas our Merchandiſing is wild, utterly confuſed, and out of Frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the Premiſes to paſs, fill your Havens with Ships, thoſe Ships with Mariners, your Kingdom full of Merchants, their Houſes full of outlandiſh Commodities, and your Coffers full of Coin, as in other Places they do, and your People ſhall have juſt Cauſe to hold in happy Memory, that your Majeſty was the Beginner of ſo profitable, praiſe-worthy, and renowned a Work, being the true Philoſopher's Stone to make your Majeſty a rich and potent King, and your Subjects happy People, only by ſettling of a State-Merchant, whereby your People may have Fulneſs of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government, without breaking of Companies.

And for that in the ſettling of ſo weighty a Buſineſs, many Things of great Conſequence muſt neceſſarily fall into Conſideration, I humbly pray, that your Majeſty may be pleaſed (for the bringing of this great Service to Light) to give me leave to nominate the Commiſſioners, and your Majeſty to give them Power to call before them ſuch Men as they ſhall think fit to confer with upon Oath, or otherwiſe, as Occaſion ſhall offer; that the ſaid Commiſſioners, with all Speed, for the better Advancement of this honourable and profitable Work, may prepare and report the ſame unto your Majeſty.

Your Majeſty's moſt loyal and true-hearted Subject,

W. RALEIGH.

A

VOYAGE

FOR THE

DISCOVERY

OF

GUIANA.

TO THE

Right Hon. my ſingular good Lord and Kinſman,

CHARLES HOWARD,

Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counſellor, and of the Admirals of *England* the moſt renowned.

And to the Right Honourable

Sir *ROBERT CECIL*, Knight.

Counſellor in her Highneſſes Privy-Counſels.

FOR your Honours many honourable and friendly Parts, I have hitherto only returned Promiſes; and now, for Anſwer of both your Adventures, I have ſent you a Bundle of Papers which I have divided between your Lordſhip and Sir *Robert Cecil* in theſe two Reſpects chiefly: Firſt, for that it is Reaſon that waſteful Factors, when they have conſumed ſuch Stocks as they had in Truſt, do yield ſome Colour for the ſame in their Account. Secondly, for that I am aſſured that whatſoever ſhall be done, or written by me, ſhall need a double Protection and Defence. The Tryal that I had of both your Loves, when I was left of all, but of Malice and Revenge, makes me ſtill preſume that you will be pleaſed (knowing what little Power I had to perform ought, and the great Advantage of forewarned Enemies) to anſwer that out of Knowledge, which others ſhall but object out of Malice. In my more happy Times, as

I did eſpecially honour you both, ſo I found that your Loves ſought me out in the darkeſt Shadow of Adverſity, and that the ſame Affection which accompanied my better Fortune, ſoared not away from me in my many Miſeries; all which though I cannot requite, yet I ſhall ever acknowledge; and the great Debt which I have no Power to pay, I can do no more, for a Time, but confeſs to be due. It is true, that as my Errors were great, ſo they have yielded very grievous Effects, and if ought might have been deſerved in former Times to have counterpoiſed any Part of Offences, the Fruit thereof (as it ſeemeth) was long before fallen from the Tree, and the dead Stock only remained. I did therefore, even in the Winter of my Life, undertake theſe Travels, fitter for Bodies leſs blaſted with Misfortunes, for Men of greater Ability, and for Minds of better Encouragement, that thereby, if it were poſſible, I might recover but the Moderation of Exceſs, and the leaſt Taſte of the greateſt Plenty formerly poſſeſſed. If I had known other Way to win, if I had imagined how greater Adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther Means I might yet uſe, but even to appeaſe ſo powerful a diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one year more, to hold faſt my Soul in my Teeth, till it were performed. Of that little Remain I had, I have waſted, in Effect, all herein, I have undergone many Conſtructions, I have been accompanied with many Sorrows, with Labour, Hunger, Heat, Sickneſs, and Peril: It appeareth, notwithſtanding, that I made no other Bravado of going to the Sea than was meant, and that I was neither hidden in *Cornwal*, or elſewhere, as was ſuppoſed. They have groſly bely'd me, that forejudged that I would rather become a Servant to the *Spaniſh* King, than return; and the reſt were much miſtaken, who would have perſuaded, that I was too eaſeful and ſenſual to undertake a Journey of ſo great Travel. But if what I have done receive the gracious Con-

Conſtruction of a painful Pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt Remiſſion, I ſhall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the reſt many Miſeries: But if both the Times paſt, the preſent, and what may be in the future, do all, by one Grain of Gall, continue in an eternal Diſtaſte, I do not then know whether I ſhould bewail myſelf either for my too much travel and Expence, or condemn myſelf for doing leſs than that, which can deſerve nothing. From myſelf I have deſerved no Thanks, for I am returned a Beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor Eſtate, it ſhall appear by the following Diſcourſe, if I had not only reſpected her Majeſty's future Honour and Riches. It became not the former Fortune in which I once lived, to go Journeys of Picory; and it had ſorted ill with the Offices of Honour, which by her Majeſty's Grace, I hold this Day in *England*, to run from Cape to Cape, and from Place to Place, for the Pillage of ordinary Prizes. Many Years ſince, I had Knowledge, by Relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautiful Empire of *Guiana*, and of that great and golden City, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and theNaturals *Manoa*, which City was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger Son of *Guainacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, at ſuch Time as *Franciſco Pazaro*, and others, conquered the ſaid Empire, from his two elder Brethren *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, both then contended for the ſame, the one being favoured by the *Orciones* of *Cuzco*, the other by the People of *Caximalca*. I ſent my Servant *Jacob Whiddon* the Year before, to get Knowledge of the Paſſages, and I had ſome Light from Captain *Parker*, ſometime my Servant, and now attending on your Lordſhip, that ſuch a Place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*; but I found that it was ſix hundred Miles farther off then they ſuppoſed, and many other Impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had diſplanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was upon the ſame

ſame Enterpriſe, leaving my Ships at *Trinedado*, at the Port called *Curiapan*, I wandered four hundred Miles into the ſaid Country, by Land and River; the particulars I will leave to the following Diſcourſe. The Country hath more Quantity of Gold, by manifold, then the beſt Parts of the *Indies*, or *Peru*; all or moſt of the Kings of the Borders are already become her Majeſty's Vaſſals, and ſeem to deſire nothing more than her Majeſty's Protection, and the Return of the *Engliſh* Nation. It hath another Ground and Aſſurance of Riches and Glory, than the Voyages of the *Weſt-Indies*, and an eaſier Way to invade the beſt Parts thereof, than by the common Courſe. The King of *Spain* is not ſo impoveriſhed by taking two or three Port-Towns in *America* as we ſuppoſe, neither are the Riches of *Peru*, or *Nueva Eſpania*, ſo left by the Sea-ſide, as it can be eaſily waſh'd away with a great Flood, or Spring-tide, or left dry upon the Sands on a low Ebb. The Port-Towns are few and poor, in reſpect of the reſt within the Land, and are of little Defence, and are only rich when the Fleets are to receive the Treaſure for *Spain*; and we might think the *Spaniards* very ſimple, having ſo many Horſes and Slaves, that if they could not upon two Days Warning carry all the Gold they have into the Land, and far enough from the Reach of our Footmen, eſpecially the *Indies* being (as it is for the moſt Part) ſo mountainous, ſo full of Woods, Rivers, and Marſhes. In the Port-Towns of the Province of *Venſuello*, as *Cumana*, *Coro*, and *S. Jago* (whereof *Coro* and *S. Jago* were taken by Captain *Preſton*, and *Cumana* and *S. Joſephus* by us) we found not the Value of one Rial of Plate in either; but the Cities of *Barquiſimeta*, *Valentia*, *S. Sebaſtian*, *Cororo*, *S. Lucia*, *Alleguna*, *Marecabo*, and *Truxillo*, are not ſo eaſily invaded; neither doth the Burning of thoſe on the Coaſt impoveriſh the King of *Spain* any one Ducat; and if we ſack the River of *Hache*, *S. Marta*, and *Cartagena*, which are the Ports of

Nuevo Reyno and *Popayan*; there are beſides within the Land, which are indeed rich and populous, the Towns and Cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *S. Chriſtophero*, the great Cities of *Pampelone*, *S. Fe de Bogota*, *Tunia* and *Mozo* where the Emeralds are found, the Towns and Cities of *Moriquito*, *Velis*, *la Villa de Leùa*, *Palma*, *Unda*, *Anguſtura*, the great City of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, *S. Aguila*, *Paſto*, *Juago*, the great City of *Popayan* itſelf, *Los Remedios*, and the reſt. If we take the Ports and Villages within the Bay of *Vraba*, in the Kingdom or Rivers of *Dariena*, and *Caribana*, the Cities and Towns of *S. Juan de Roydas*, of *Caſſaris*, of *Antiocha*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Auſerma* have Gold enough to pay the King Part, and are not eaſily invaded by the Way of the Ocean; or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken, in the Province of *Caſtillo de Oro*, and the Villages upon the Rivers of *Cenu* and *Chagre*. *Peru* hath beſides thoſe, and beſides the magnificent Cities of *Quito* and *Lima*, ſo many Iſlands, Ports, Cities and Mines, as if I ſhould name them with the reſt, it would ſeem incredible to the Reader; of all which, becauſe I have written a particular Treatiſe of the *Weſt-Indies*, I will omit their Repetition at this Time, ſeeing that in the ſaid Treatiſe I have anatomized the reſt of the Sea-Towns, as well of *Nicaragna*, *Jucata*, *Nueva*, *Eſpanna*, and the Iſlands, as thoſe of the Inland, and by what Means they may be beſt invaded, as far as my mean Judgment can comprehend. But I hope it ſhall appear that there is a Way found to anſwer every Man's Longing, a better *Indies* for her Majeſty than the King of *Spain* hath any; which if it ſhall pleaſe her Highneſs to undertake, I ſhall moſt willingly end the reſt of my Days in following the ſame. If it be left to the Spoil and Sackage of common Perſons, if the Love and Service of ſo many Nations be deſpiſed, ſo great Riches, and ſo mighty an Empire refuſed, I hope her Majeſty will yet take my humble Deſire, and my Labour therein, in gracious Part, which if it had not been in Reſpect of her

her Highneſs's future Honour and Riches, I could have laid Hands and ranſomed many of the Kings and *Caſſiqui* of the Country, and have had a reaſonable Proportion of Gold for their Redemption; but I have choſen rather to bear the Burden of Poverty, than Reproach, and rather to endure a ſecond Travel, and the Chances thereof, than to have defaced an Enterprize of ſo great Aſſurance, until I knew whether it pleaſed God to put a Diſpoſition in her princely and royal Heart, either to follow or foreſlow the ſame. I will therefore leave it to his Ordinance that hath only Power in all Things, and do humbly pray that your Honours will excuſe ſuch Errors as, without the Defence of Art, over-run in every Part the following Diſcourſe, in which I have neither ſtudied Phraſe, Form, nor Faſhion; and that you will be pleaſed to eſteem me as your own (though over dearly bought) and I ſhall ever remain ready to do you all Honour and Service.

W. R.

TO THE

READER.

BECAUSE there have been divers Opinions conceived of the gold Ore brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of *London*, and an Officer of her Majeſty's Mint, hath given out that the ſame is of no Price, I have thought good by the Addition of theſe Lines to give Anſwer as well to the ſaid malicious Slander, as to other Objections. It is true that while we abode at the Iſland of *Trinedado*, I was informed by an *Indian*, that not far from the Port where we anchored, there were found certain mineral Stones which they eſteemed to be Gold, and were thereunto perſuaded the rather, for that they had ſeen both *Engliſh* and *Frenchmen* gather and embark ſome Quantities thereof. Upon this Likelihood I ſent forty Men, and gave Order that each one ſhould bring a Stone of that Mine, to make Trial of the Goodneſs; which being performed, I aſſured them, at their return, that the ſame was *Marcaſite*, and of no Riches or Value: Notwithſtanding divers, truſting more to their own Senſe than to my Opinion, kept of the ſaid *Marcaſite*, and have tried thereof, ſince my Return, in divers Places. In *Guiana* itſelf I never ſaw *Marcaſite*, but all the Rocks, Mountains, all Stones in the Plains, in Woods, and by the Rivers Sides, are, in Effect, thorough Shining, and appear marvellous rich; which being tried to be no *Marcaſite*, are the true Signs of rich Minerals, but are no other than *El madre del oro* (as the

Spaniards term them) which is the Mother of Gold, or as it is ſaid by others, the Scum of Gold: Of divers Sorts of theſe many of my Company brought alſo into *England*, every one taking the faireſt for the beſt, which is not general. For mine own Part, I did not countermand any Man's Deſire, or Opinion; and I could have afforded them little if I ſhould have denied them the pleaſing of their own Fancies therein; but I was reſolved that Gold muſt be found, either in Grains ſeparate from the Stone (as it is in moſt of all the Rivers in *Guiana*) or elſe in a Kind of hard Stone, which we call the white Sparr, of which I ſaw divers Hills, and in ſundry Places, but had neither Time, nor Men, nor Inſtruments fit to labour. Near unto one of the Rivers I found of the ſaid white Sparr, or Flint, a very great Lidge, or Bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the Means I could, becauſe there appeared on the Outſide ſome ſmall Grains of Gold; but finding no Means to work the ſame upon the upper Part, ſeeking the Sides and Circuit of the ſaid Rock, I found a Clift in the ſame, from whence with Daggers, and with the Head of an Ax, we got out ſome ſmall Quantity thereof, of which Kind of white Stone (wherein Gold is engendered) we ſaw divers Hills and Rocks in every Part of *Guiana*, wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many Trials; and in *London* it was firſt aſſayed by Maſter *Weſtwood*, a Refiner dwelling in *Wood-ſtreet*, and it held after the Rate of 12000 or 13000 Pounds a Ton. Another Sort was afterward tried by Maſter *Bulmar* and Maſter *Dimoke* Aſſaymaſter, and it held after the Rate of 23000 Pounds a Ton. There was ſome of it again tried by Maſter *Palmer* Comptroller of the Mint, and Maſter *Dimoke* in *Goldſmith's Hall*, and it held after the Rate of 26900 Pounds a Ton. There was alſo at the ſame Time, and by the ſame Perſons, a Trial made of the Duſt of the ſaid Mine, which held eight Pounds ſix Ounces Weight of Gold in the Hundred; there was likewiſe,

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at the ſame time, a Trial made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third Part Gold, beſides divers Trials made in the Country, and by others in *London*. But becauſe there came of Ill with the Good, and belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, it hath pleaſed him therefore to ſcandal all the reſt, and to deface the Enterpriſe as much as in him lieth. It hath alſo been concluded by divers, that if there had been any ſuch Ore in *Guiana*, and the ſame diſcovered, that I would have brought home a greater Quantity thereof. Firſt, I was not bound to ſatisfy any Man of the Quantity, but ſuch only as adventured, if any Store had been returned thereof; but it is very true, that had all their Mountains been of maſſy Gold, it was impoſſible for us to have made any longer Stay to have wrought the ſame: And whoſoever hath ſeen with what ſtrength of Stone the beſt Gold Ore is environned, he will not think it eaſy to be had out in Heaps, and eſpecially by us, who had neither Men, Inſtruments, nor Time (as it is ſaid before) to perform the ſame. There were on this Diſcovery no leſs than one hundred Perſons, who can all witneſs, that when we paſs'd any Branch of the River to view the Land within, and ſtaid from our Boats but ſix Hours, we were driven to wade to the Eyes at our Return; and if we attempted the ſame the Day following, it was impoſſible either to ford it, or to ſwim it, both by reaſon of the Swiftneſs, and alſo for that the Borders were ſo peſtered with faſt Woods, as neither Boat nor Man could find Place, either to land or to embark; for in *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, it is impoſſible to navigate any of thoſe Rivers, for ſuch is the Fury of the Current, and there are ſo many Trees and Woods overflown, as if any Boat but touch upon any Tree or Stake, it is impoſſible to ſave any one Perſon therein: And ere we departed the Land it ran with that Swiftneſs, as we drove down, moſt commonly againſt the Wind, little leſs than one hundred Miles a Day. Beſides, our Veſſels were no other than Wherries, one little Barge, a ſmall Cock-

boat, and a bad Galliota, which we framed in haſte for that Purpoſe at *Trinedado*, and thoſe little Boats had nine or ten Men apiece, with all their Victuals and Arms. It is further true, that we were about four hundred Miles from our Ships, and had been a Month from them, which alſo we left weakly man'd in an open Road, and had promiſed our Return in fifteen Days. Others have deviſed, that the ſame Ore was had from *Barbary*, and that we carried it with us into *Guiana*: Surely the Singularity of that Device I do not well comprehend; for mine own Part, I am not ſo much in Love with theſe long Voyages, as to deviſe thereby to cozen myſelf, to lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubjected to Perils, to Diſeaſes, to ill Savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to ſuſtain the Care and Labour of ſuch an Enterpriſe, except the ſame had more Comfort than the fetching of *Marcaſite* in *Guiana*, or buying of Gold Ore in *Barbary*. But I hope the better Sort will judge me by themſelves, and that the Way of Deceit is not the Way of Honour or good Opinion: I have herein conſumed much Time, and many Crowns, and I had no other Reſpect or Deſire than to ſerve her Majeſty and my Country thereby. If the *Spaniſh* Nation had been of like Belief to theſe Detractors, we ſhould little have feared or doubted their Attempts, wherewith we are now daily threatened. But if we now conſider of the Actions both of *Charles* the Vth who had the Maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant Treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the Affairs of the *Spaniſh* King now living, what Territories he hath purchaſed, what he hath added to the Acts of his Predeceſſors, how many Kingdoms he hath endangered, how many Armies, Garriſons, and Navies he hath and doth maintain, the great Loſſes which he hath repaired, as in 88 above one hundred Sail of great Ships, with their Artillery, and that no Year is leſs unfortunate, but that many Veſſels, Treaſures, and People are devoured; and yet, notwithſtanding, he beginneth again, like a Storm,

Storm, to threaten Shipwreck to us all; we ſhall find that theſe Abilities riſe not from the Trades of Sacks and *Sevil* Oranges, nor from ought elſe that either *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any of his other Provinces produce: It is his *Indian* Gold that endangereth and diſturbeth all the Nations of *Europe*, it purchaſeth Intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and ſetteth bound Loyalty at Liberty in the greateſt Monarchies of *Europe*. If the *Spaniſh* King can keep us from foreign Enterpriſes, and from the Impeachment of his Trades, either by Offer of Invaſion, or by beſieging us in *Britain*, *Ireland*, or elſewhere, he hath then brought the Work of our Peril in great forwardneſs. Thoſe Princes which abound in Treaſure have great Advantages over the reſt, if they once conſtrain them to a defenſive War, where they are driven once a Year, or oftener, to caſt Lots for their own Garments, and from ſuch ſhall all Trades and Intercourſe be taken away, to the general Loſs and Impoveriſhment of the Kingdom, and Commonweal ſo reduced. Beſides, when Men are conſtrained to fight, it hath not the ſame Hope as when they are preſs'd and encouraged by the Deſire of Spoil and Riches. Farther, it is to be doubted how thoſe that in Time of Victory ſeem to affect their neighbouring Nations, will remain after the firſt View of Misfortunes, or ill Succeſs; to truſt alſo to the Doubtfulneſs of a Battle, is but a fearful and uncertain Adventure, ſeeing therein Fortune is as likely to prevail as Virtue. It ſhall not be neceſſary to allege all that might be ſaid, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatſoever Kingdom ſhall be enforced to defend itſelf, may be compared to a Body dangerouſly diſeaſed, which for a Seaſon may be preſerved with vulgar Medicines, but in a ſhort Time, and by little and little, the ſame muſt needs fall to the Ground, and be diſſolved. I have therefore laboured all my Life, both according to my ſmall Power, and Perſuaſion, to advance all thoſe Attempts, that might either promiſe Return of Profit to ourſelves, or

at leaſt be a Let or Impeachment to the quiet Courſe and plentiful Trades of the *Spaniſh* Nation, who in my weak Judgment, by ſuch a War were as eaſily endangered and brought from his Powerfulneſs, as any Prince in *Europe*, if it be conſidered from how many Kingdoms and Nations his Revenues are gathered, and thoſe ſo weak in their own Beings, and ſo far ſevered from mutual Succour. But becauſe ſuch a Preparation and Reſolution is not to be hoped for in haſte, and that the Time which our Enemies embrace cannot be had again to Advantage, I will hope that theſe Provinces, and that Empire now by me diſcovered, ſhall ſuffice to enable her Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom, with no leſs Quantities of Treaſure than the King of *Spain* hath in all the *Indies*, Eaſt and Weſt, which he poſſeſſeth; which if the ſame be conſidered and followed, ere the *Spaniards* reinforce the ſame, and if her Majeſty will undertake it, I will be contented to loſe her Highneſs's Favour and good Opinion for ever, and my Life withal, if the ſame be not found rather to exceed, than to equal whatſoever is in this Diſcourſe promiſed or declared. I will now refer the Reader to the following Diſcourſe, with the Hope that the perilous and chargeable Labours and Endeavours of ſuch as thereby ſeek the Profit and Honour of her Majeſty and the *Engliſh* Nation, ſhall, by Men of Quality and Virtue, receive ſuch Conſtruction, and good Acceptance, as themſelves would look to be rewarded withal in the like.

W. R.

THE DISCOVERY OF *GUIANA.*

ON *Thurſday* the ſixth of *February*, in the Year 1595. we departed *England*, and the *Sunday* following had Sight of the North Cape of *Spain*, the Wind for the moſt Part ntinuing proſperous: We paſſed in Sight of the *Burgs*, and the Rock, and ſo onwards for the *Canaries*, d fell in with *Fuerte ventura* the ſeventeenth of the ne Month, where we ſpent two or three Days, and ieved our Companies with ſome freſh Meat. From nce we coaſted by the *Gran Canaria*, and ſo to *Tenerife*, and ſtayed there for the *Lyon's Whelp*, your Lordp's Ship, and for Captain *Amys Preſton*, and the t: But when after ſeven or eight Days we found m not, we departed and directed our Courſe for *Trilado* with mine own Ship, and a ſmall Bark of Capn *Croſs*'s only (for we had before loſt Sight of a all Gallego on the Coaſt of *Spain*, which came with from *Plymouth*) we arrived at *Trinedado* the twentyond of *March*, caſting Anchor at Point *Curiapan*, ich the *Spaniards* call *Punto de Gallo*, which is ſite in eight Degrees, or thereabouts: We abode re four or five Days, and in all that Time we came to the ſpeech of any *Indian* or *Spaniard*. On the

Coaſt we ſaw a Fire, as we ſailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for Fear of the *Spaniards*, none durſt come to ſpeak with us. I myſelf coaſted it in my Barge cloſe aboard the Shore, and landed in every Cove, the better to know the Iſland, while the Ships kept the Channel. From *Curiapan*, after a few Days, we turned up North-eaſt to recover that Place which the *Spaniards* call *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, and the Inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (re-victualling my Barge) I left the Ships and kept by the Shore, the better to come to Speech with ſome of the Inhabitants, and alſo to underſtand the Rivers, watering Places, and Ports of the Iſland, which (as it is rudely done) my Purpoſe is to ſend your Lordſhip after a few Days. From *Curiapan* I came to a Port and Seat of *Indians* called *Parico*, where we found a freſh-water River, but ſaw no People. From thence I rowed to another Port, called by the Naturals *Piche*, and by the *Spaniards Tierra de Brea*. In the Way between both were divers little Brooks of freſh Water, and one ſalt River that had Store of Oiſters upon the Branches of the Trees, and were very ſalt and well taſted: All their Oiſters grow upon thoſe Boughs and Sprays, and not on the Ground; the like is commonly ſeen in the *Weſt-Indies*, and elſewhere. This Tree is deſcribed by *Andrew Thevet* in his *French Antartic*, and the Form figured in his Book as a Plant very ſtrange, and by *Pliny* in his twelfth Book of his Natural Hiſtory; but in this Iſland, as alſo in *Guiana*, there are very many of them.

At this Point called *Tierra de Brea*, or *Piche*, there is that Abundance of Stone Pitch, that all the Ships of the World may be therewith laden from thence, and we made Trial of it in trimming our Ships to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the Sun as the Pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for Ships trading to the South Parts very profitable. From thence we went to the Mountain Foot called *Annaperima*, and ſo paſſing the River *Carone*, on which the *Spaniſh* City was ſeated,

we

we met with our Ships at *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, or *Conquerabia*.

This Iſland of *Trinedado* hath the Form of a Sheep-hook, and is but narrow, the North Part is very mountainous, the Soil is very excellent, and will bear Sugar, Ginger, or any other Commodity that the *Indies* yield. It hath Store of Deer, wild Porks, Fruits, Fiſh and Fowl. It hath alſo for Bread ſufficient *Mais*, *Caſſavi*, and of thoſe Roots and Fruits which are common every where in the *Weſt-Indies*. It hath divers Beaſts which the *Indies* have not. The *Spaniards* confeſſed that they found Grains of Gold in ſome of the Rivers, but they having a Purpoſe to enter *Guiana* (the Magazine of all rich Metals) cared not to ſpend Time in the Search thereof any farther. This Iſland is called by the People thereof *Cairi*, and in it are divers Nations; thoſe about *Parico* are called *Iaio*, thoſe at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and between *Carao* and *Curiapan* they are called *Salvaios*, between *Carao* and *Punto Galera* are the *Nepoios*, and thoſe about the *Spaniſh* City term themſelves *Carinepagotos*. Of the reſt of the Nations, and of other Ports and Rivers, I leave to ſpeak here, being impertinent to my Purpoſe, and mean to deſcribe them as they are ſituate in the particular Plot and Deſcription of the Iſland, three Parts whereof I coaſted with my Barge, that I might the better deſcribe it.

Meeting with the Ships at *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, we found at the landing Place a Company of *Spaniards* who kept a Guard at the Deſcent, and they offering a Sign of Peace, I ſent Captain *Whiddon* to ſpeak with them, whom afterward, to my great Grief, I left buried in the ſaid Iſland, after my Return from *Guiana*, being a Man moſt honeſt and valiant. The *Spaniards* ſeemed to be deſirous to trade with us, and to enter into Terms of Peace, more for Doubt of their own Strength, than for ought elſe, and in the End, upon Pledge, ſome of them came aboard: The ſame Evening there

there ſtole aboard us, in a ſmall Canoe, two *Indians*, the one of them being a *Caſſiqui*, or Lord of People called *Cantyman*, who had the Year before been with Captain *Whiddon*, and was of his Acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* we underſtood what Strength the *Spaniards* had, how far it was to their City, and of *Don Antonio de Berreo* the Governor, who was ſaid to be ſlain in his ſecond Attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles* ſome *Spaniards* came aboard us to buy Linen of the Company, and ſuch other Things as they wanted, and alſo to view our Ships and Company, all which I entertained kindly, and feaſted after our Manner; by Means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the Eſtate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for thoſe poor Soldiers having been many Years without Wine, a few Draughts made them merry, in which Mood they vaunted of *Guiana*, and of the Riches thereof, and all what they knew of the Ways and Paſſages, myſelf ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſs than the Entrance or Diſcovery thereof; but bred in them an Opinion that I was bound only for the Relief of thoſe *Engliſh* which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the Bruit was come among them, which I had performed in my Return, if Extremity of Weather had not forced me from the ſaid Coaſt.

I found Occaſions of ſtaying in this Place for two Cauſes; the one was to be revenged of *Berreo*, who the Year before betrayed eight of Captain *Whiddon*'s Men, and took them while he departed from them to ſeek the *E. Bonaventure*, which arrived at *Trinedado* the Day before from the *Eaſt-Indies*; in whoſe Abſence *Berreo* ſent a Canoe aboard the Pinnace, only with *Indians* and Dogs, inviting the Company to go with them into the Woods to kill a Deer, who, like wiſe Men in the Abſence of their Captain, followed the *Indians*; but were no ſooner one Harquebuſs Shot from the Shore, but *Berreo*'s Soldiers lying in Ambuſh had them

them all, notwithſtanding that he had given his Word to Captain *Whiddon* that they ſhould take Water and Wood ſafely; the other Cauſe of my Stay was, for that by Diſcourſe with the *Spaniards*, I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the Rivers and Paſſages, and of the Enterpriſe of *Berreo*, by what Means or Fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

While we thus ſpent the Time, I was aſſured by another *Caſſiqui* of the North Side of the Iſland, that *Berreo* had ſent to *Marguerita*, and to *Cumana*, for Soldiers, meaning to have given me a *Caſſado* at parting, if it had been poſſible: For although he had given Order through all the Iſland, that no *Indian* ſhould come aboard to trade with me, upon Pain of hanging or quartering (having executed two of them for the ſame, which I afterwards found) yet every Night there came ſome with moſt lamentable Complaints of his Cruelty; how he had divided the Iſland, and given to every Soldier a Part, that he made the antient *Caſſiqui*, which were Lords of the Country, to be their Slaves, that he kept them in Chains, and dropped their naked Bodies with burning Bacon, and ſuch other Torments, which I found afterwards to be true; for in the City, after I entered the ſame, there were five of the Lords or little Kings (which they call *Caſſiqui* in the *Weſt-Indies*) in one Chain, almoſt dead of Famine, and waſted with Torments: Theſe are called in their own Language *Acarewana*, and now of late, ſince *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* are come among them, they call themſelves *Capitains*, becauſe they perceive that the chiefeſt of every Ship is called by that Name. Thoſe five *Capitains* in the Chain were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Aterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former Wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter *Guiana* by ſmall Boats, to depart four or five hundred Miles from my Ships, and to leave a Garriſon in my Back intereſſed in the ſame Enterpriſe, who alſo daily expected Supplies out of

Spain,

Spain, I ſhould have ſavoured very much of the Aſs; and therefore, taking a Time of moſt Advantage, I ſet upon the *Corp du Guard* in the Evening, and having put them to the Sword, ſent Captain *Calfield* onward with ſixty Soldiers, and myſelf followed with forty more, and ſo took their new City, which they called *S. Joſeph*, by Break of Day: They abode not any Fight after a few Shot, and all being diſmiſſed but only *Berreo* and his Companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the Inſtance of the *Indians*, I ſet their new City of *S. Joſeph* on fire.

The ſame Day arrived Captain *George Gifford* with your Lordſhip's Ship, and Captain *Keymis*, whom I loſt on the Coaſt of *Spain*, with the *Gallego*, and in them divers Gentlemen and others, which to our little Army was a great Comfort and Supply.

We then haſtened away towards our purpoſed Diſcovery; and firſt I called all the Captains of the Iſland together, that were Enemies to the *Spaniards*, for there were ſome which *Berreo* had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and waſte thoſe that were natural of the Place, and by my *Indian* Interpreter, which I carried out of *England*, I made them underſtand that I was the Servant of a Queen, who was the great *Caſſiqui* of the North, and a Virgin, and had more *Caſſiqui* under her than there were Trees in their Iſland; that ſhe was an Enemy to the *Caſtellans*, in reſpect of their Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and that ſhe delivered all ſuch Nations about her as were by them oppreſſed; and having freed all the Coaſt of the northern World from their Servitude, had ſent me to free them alſo, and withal to defend the Country of *Guiana* from their Invaſion and Conqueſt. I ſhewed them her Majeſty's Picture, which they ſo admired and honoured, as it had been eaſy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like, and a more large Diſcourſe I made to the reſt of the Nations, both in my paſſing to *Guiana*, and

to

to thoſe of the Borders; ſo as in that Part of the World her Majeſty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Caſſipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as, *Elizabeth*, the great Princeſs, or greateſt Commander. This done, we left *Puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and having *Berreo* my Priſoner, I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knew.

This *Berreo* is a Gentleman well deſcended, and had long ſerved the *Spaniſh* King in *Milan*, *Naples*, the *Low-Countries*, and elſewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a Gentleman of great Aſſuredneſs, and of a great Heart. I uſed him according to his Eſtate and Worth in all Things I could, according to the ſmall Means I had.

I ſent Captain *Whiddon* the Year before to get what Knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the End of my Journey, at this Time, was to diſcover and enter the ſame; but my Intelligence was far from Truth, for the Country is ſituate above ſix hundred *Engliſh* Miles further from the Sea than I was made believe it had been, which afterwards underſtanding to be true by *Berreo*, I kept it from the Knowledge of my Company, who elſe would never have been brought to attempt the ſame; of which ſix hundred Miles I paſſed four hundred, leaving my Ships ſo far from me at Anchor in the Sea, which was more of Deſire to perform that Diſcovery, than of Reaſon, eſpecially having ſuch poor and weak Veſſels to tranſport ourſelves in; for in the Bottom of an old *Gallego*, which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a Galley, and in one Barge, two Wherries, and a Ship-boat of the *Lyon's Whelp*, we carried one hundred Perſons, and their Victuals for a Month in the ſame, being all driven to lie in the Rain and Weather, in the open Air, in the burning Sun, and upon the hard Boards, and to dreſs our Meat, and to carry all manner of Furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtered and unſavory, that what with Victuals, being

being moſt Fiſh, with the wet Cloaths of ſo many Men thruſt together, and the Heat of the Sun, I will undertake there was never any Priſon in *England* that could be found more unſavory and loathſom, eſpecially to myſelf, who had for many Years before been dieted and cared for in Sort far differing.

If Captain *Preſton* had not been perſuaded that he ſhould have come too late to *Trinedado* to have found us there (for the Month was expired which I promiſed to tarry for him there, ere he could recover the Coaſt of *Spain*) but that it had pleaſed God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the Country but ſome ten Days ſooner, ere the Rivers were overflown, we had adventured either to have gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at leaſt taken ſo many of the other Cities and Towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal Return: But it pleaſed not God ſo much to favour me at this Time. If it ſhall be my Lot to proſecute the ſame, I ſhall willingly ſpend my Life therein; and if any elſe ſhall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the ſame, I aſſure him thus much, he ſhall perform more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortes*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro*, whereof the one conquered the Empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, and whatſoever Prince ſhall poſſeſs it, that Prince ſhall be Lord of more Gold, and of a more beautiful Empire, and of more Cities and People, than either the King of *Spain*, or the Great *Turk*.

But becauſe there may ariſe many Doubts, and how this Empire of *Guiana* is become ſo populous, and adorned with ſo many great Cities, Towns, Temples, and Treaſures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperor now reigning is deſcended from thoſe magnificent Princes of *Peru*, of whoſe large Territories, of whoſe Policies, Conqueſts, Edifices, and Riches, *Pedro de Cieza*, *Franciſco Lopez*, and others, have written large Diſcourſes; for when *Franciſco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro*, and others, conquered the ſaid Empire of *Peru*,

Peru, and had put to Death *Atabalipa*, Son to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly cauſed his eldeſt Brother *Guaſcar* to be ſlain, one of the younger Sons of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and took with him many thouſands of thoſe Soldiers of the Empire called *Oreiones*, and with thoſe, and many others which followed him, he vanquiſhed all that Tract and Valley of *America* which is ſituate between the great Rivers of *Amazones* and *Baraquan*, otherwiſe called *Oroonoko* and *Maranion*.

The Empire of *Guiana* is directly Eaſt from *Peru* towards the Sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial Line, and it hath more abundance of Gold than any Part of *Peru*, and as many, or more great Cities than ever *Peru* had when it flouriſhed moſt. It is governed by the ſame Laws, and the Emperor and People obſerve the ſame Religion, and the ſame Form and Policies in Government as was uſed in *Peru*, not differing in any Part; and as I have been aſſured by ſuch of the *Spaniards* as have ſeen *Manoa*, the Imperial City of *Guiana*, which the *Spaniards* call *el Dorado*, that for the Greatneſs, the Riches, and for the excellent Seat, it far exceedeth any of the World, at leaſt of ſo much of the World as is known to the *Spaniſh* Nation. It is founded upon a Lake of Salt-water of two hundred Leagues long, like unto *Mare Caſpium*; and if we compare it to that of *Peru*, and but read the Report of *Franciſco Lopez*, and others, it will ſeem more than credible; and becauſe we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to inſert Part of the 120th Chapter of *Lopez*, in his general Hiſtory of the *Indies*, wherein he deſcribeth the Court and Magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, Anceſtor to the Emperor of *Guiana*, whoſe very Words are theſe. *Todo el ſervicio de ſu caſa, meſa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en ſu recamara eſtatuas huetas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de ſus reynos.*

Tenia

Tenia aſſi meſmo ſogas, coſtales, ceſtas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciеſſen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin, no avia coſa en ſu tierra, que no la tuviſſe de oro contrabecha; y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una Iſla cerca de la Puna, donde ſe yvan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, yarboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza haſta entonces nunca viſta. Allende de todo eſto tenia infinitiſſimia cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que ſe perdio por la muerte de Guaſcar, ca los Indios lo eſcondieron, viendo que los Eſpanioles ſe lo tomauan, y embiauan a Eſpania. That is, All the Veſſels of his Houſe, Table, and Kitchen, were of Gold and Silver, and the meaneſt of Silver and Copper, for Strength and Hardneſs of the Metal. He had in his Wardrobe hollow Statues of Gold which ſeemed Giants, and the Figures in Proportion and Bigneſs of all the Beaſts, Birds, Trees, and Herbs, that the Earth bringeth forth; and of all the Fiſhes that the Sea or Waters of his Kingdom breedeth. He had alſo Ropes, Budgets, Cheſts and Troughs of Gold and Silver, Heaps of Billets of Gold that ſeemed Wood marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his Country whereof he had not the Counterfeit in Gold. Yea, and they ſay, the *Ingas* had a Garden of Pleaſure in an Iſland near *Puna*, where they went to recreate themſelves when they would take the Air of the Sea, which had all Kind of Garden Herbs, Flowers and Trees, of Gold and Silver, an Invention, and Magnificence, till then never ſeen. Beſides all this, he had an infinite Quantity of Silver and Gold unwrought in *Cuzco*, which was loſt by the Death of *Guaſcar*; for the *Indians* hid it, ſeeing that the *Spaniards* took it and ſent it into *Spain*.

And in the 117th Chapter, *Franciſco Picaro* cauſed the Gold and Silver of *Atabalipa* to be weighed, after he had taken it, which *Lopez* ſetteth down in theſe Words following.

Hallaron

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y ſeys mil, y quinientos peſos de oro. Which is; They found fifty-two thouſand Marks of good Silver, and one Million, three hundred twenty and ſix thouſand and five hundred Peſoes of Gold.

Now although theſe Reports may ſeem ſtrange, yet if we conſider the many Millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into *Spain*, we may eaſily believe the ſame, for we find that by the abundant Treaſure of that Country, the *Spaniſh* King vexeth all the Princes of *Europe*, and is become in a few Years, from a poor King of *Caſtile*, the greateſt Monarch of this Part of the World, and likely every Day to increaſe, if other Princes foreſlow the good Occaſion offered, and ſuffer him to add this Empire to the reſt, which by far exceedeth all the reſt; if his Gold now endanger us, he will then be unreſiſtable. Such of the *Spaniards* as afterward endeavoured the Conqueſt thereof (whereof there have been many, as ſhall be declared hereafter) thought that this *Inga* (of whom this Emperor now living is deſcended) took his Way by the River of *Amazones*, by that Branch which is called *Papamene*, for by that Way followed *Oreliano*, (by the Commandment of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the Year 1542) whoſe Name the River alſo beareth this Day, which is alſo by others called *Maragnon*, although *Andrew Thevet* doth affirm, that between *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are one hundred and twenty Leagues; but ſure it is, that thoſe Rivers have one Head and Beginning, and that *Maragnon*, which *Thevet* deſcribeth, is but a Branch of *Amazones*, or *Oreliano*, of which I will ſpeak more in another Place. It was alſo attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano*, or after, I know not; but it is now little leſs than ſeventy Years ſince that *Ordace*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *Jago*, attempted the ſame, and it was in the Year 1542. that *Oreliano* diſcovered the River of *Amazones*; but the firſt that ever

ſaw *Manoa* was *Johannes Martines*. Maſter of the Munition to *Ordace*. At a Port called *Merequito* in *Guiana* there lyeth, at this Day, a great Anchor of *Ordace*'s Ship; and this Port is ſome three hundred Miles within the Land, upon the great River of *Oroonoko*.

I reſted at this Port four Days, twenty Days after I left the Ships at *Curiapan*. The Relation of this *Martines* (who was the firſt that diſcovered *Manoa*) his Succeſs, and End, is to be ſeen in the Chauncery of *Saint Juan de Puerto Rico*, whereof *Berreo* had a Copy, which appeared to be the greateſt Encouragement, as well to *Berreo* as to others that formerly attempted the Diſcovery and Conqueſt. *Oreliano*, after he failed of the Diſcovery of *Guiana* by the ſaid River of *Amazones*, paſſed into *Spain*, and there obtained a Patent of the King for the Invaſion and Conqueſt, but died by Sea about the Iſlands, and his Fleet being ſevered by Tempeſt, the Action for that Time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the Enterpriſe, and departed *Spain* with ſix hundred Soldiers, and thirty Horſe, who arriving on the Coaſt of *Guiana* was ſlain in a Mutiny, with the moſt part of ſuch as favoured him, as alſo of the rebellious Part; inſomuch as his Ships periſhed, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly known what became of the ſaid *Ordace*, until *Berreo* found the Anchor of his Ship in the River of *Oroonoko*; but it was ſuppoſed, and ſo it is written by *Lopez*, that he periſhed on the Seas, and of other Writers diverſly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that *Martines* entered ſo far within the Land, and arrived at that City of *Inga* the Emperor; for it chanced that while *Ordace* with his Army reſted at the Port of *Morequito* (who was either the firſt or ſecond that attempted *Guiana*) by ſome Negligence, the whole Store of Powder provided for the Service was ſet on fire, and *Martines* having the chief Charge was condemned by the General *Ordace* to be executed forthwith. *Martines* being much favoured by the Soldiers had all the Means poſſible procured

cured for his Life, but it could not be obtained in other Sort than this; That he ſhould be ſet into a Canoe alone without any Victuals, only with his Arms, and ſo turned looſe into the great River. But it pleaſed God that the Canoe was carried down the Stream, and that certain of the *Guianians* met it the ſame Evening, and having not at any Time ſeen any Chriſtian, nor any Man of that Colour, they carried *Martines* into the Land to be wondered at, and ſo from Town to Town until he came to the great City of *Manoa*, the Seat and Reſidence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Chriſtian (for it was not long before that his Brethren, *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, were vanquiſhed by the *Spaniards* in *Peru*) and cauſed him to be lodged in his Palace, and well entertained. He lived ſeven Months in *Manoa*, but not ſuffered to wander into the Country any where; he was alſo brought thither all the Way blindfold, led by the *Indians*, until he came to the Entrance of *Manoa* itſelf, and was fourteen or fifteen Days in the Paſſage. He avowed at his Death, that he entered the City at Noon, and then they uncovered his Face, and that he travelled all that Day, tillNight, through the City, and the next Day, from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſetting, ere he came to the Palace of *Inga*. After that *Martines* had lived ſeven Months in *Manoa*, and began to underſtand the Language of the Country, *Inga* aſked him whether he deſired to return into his own Country, or would willingly abide with him; but *Martines*, not deſirous to ſtay, obtained the Favour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he ſent divers *Guianians* to conduct him to the River of *Oroonoko*, all loaden with as much Gold as they could carry, which he gave to *Martines* at his Departure; but when he was arrived near the River's Side, the Borderers, which are called *Oroonokoponi*, robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the Treaſure (the Borderers being at that Time at war with *Inga*, and not conquered) ſave only of two great Bottles of Gords,

which were filled with Beads of Gold curiouſly wrought, which thoſe *Oroonokoponi* thought had been no other Thing than his Drink, or Meat, or Grain for Food, with which *Martines* had Liberty to paſs; and ſo in Canoes he fell down by the River of *Oroonoko* to *Trinedado*, and from thence to *Marguerita*, and ſo to *Saint Juan de Puerto Rico*, where remaining a long Time for a Paſſage into *Spain* he died. In the Time of his extreme Sickneſs, and when he was without Hope of Life, receiving the Sacrament at the Hands of his Confeſſor, he delivered theſe Things, with the Relation of his Travels, and alſo called for his *Calabaza*, or Gords of the Gold Beads, which he gave to the Church and Friars to be prayed for. This *Martines* was he that chriſtened the City of *Manoa* by the Name of *El Dorado*, and, as *Berreo* informed me, upon this Occaſion. Thoſe *Guianians* and alſo the Borderers, and all others in that Tract which I have ſeen, are marvellous great Drunkards, in which Vice I think no Nation can compare with them; and at the Times of their ſolemn Feaſts when the Emperor carouſeth with his Captains, Tributaries, and Governors, the Manner is thus. All thoſe that pledge him are firſt ſtripped naked, and their Bodies anointed all over with a Kind of white *Balſamum*, by them called *Curcai*, of which there is great Plenty, and yet very dear amongſt them, and it is of all other the moſt precious, whereof we have had good Experience; when they are anointed all over, certain Servants of the Emperor having prepared Gold made into fine Powder blow it through hollow Canes upon their naked Bodies, until they be all ſhining from the Foot to the Head; and in this Sort they ſit drinking by Twenties and Hundreds, and continue in Drunkenneſs ſometimes ſix or ſeven Days together: The ſame is alſo confirmed by a Letter written into *Spain*, which was intercepted, which Maſter *Robert Dudley* told me he had ſeen. Upon this Sight, and for the Abundance of Gold which he ſaw in the City, the Images of Gold in their Temples, the Plates,

Armours,

Armours, and Shields of Gold which they uſe in the Wars, he called it *El Dorado*. After *Oreliano*, who was employed by *Pacaro*, afterwards *Marquis Pacaro*, Conqueror and Governor of *Peru*, and the Death of *Ordace* and *Martines*, one *Pedro de Oſua*, a Knight of *Navarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his Way from *Peru*, and built his Brigantines upon a River called *Oia*, which riſeth to the Southward of *Quito*, and is very great: This River falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Oſua* with his Companies deſcended, and came out of that Province which is called *Mutylones*: And it ſeemeth to me, that this Empire is reſerved for her Majeſty and the *Engliſh* Nation, by reaſon of the hard Succeſs which all theſe and other *Spaniards* found in attempting the ſame, whereof I will ſpeak briefly, though impertinent, in ſome Sort, to my Purpoſe. This *Pedro de Oſua* had among his Troops a *Biſcayan* called *Agiri*, a Man meanly born, and bare no other Office than a Serjeant, or *Alferez*; but after certain Months, when the Soldiers were grieved with Travels, and conſumed with Famine, and that no Entrance could be found by the Branches or Body of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raiſed a Mutiny, of which he made himſelf the Head, and ſo prevailed, as he put *Oſua* to the Sword, and all his Followers, taking on him the whole Charge and Commandment, with a Purpoſe not only to make himſelf Emperor of *Guiana*, but alſo of *Peru*, and of all that Side of the *Weſt-Indies*. He had of his Party ſeven hundred Soldiers, and of thoſe many promiſed to draw in other Captains and Companies to deliver up Towns and Forts in *Peru*; but neither finding by the ſaid River any Paſſage into *Guiana*, nor any Poſſibility to return towards *Peru* by the ſame *Amazones*, by reaſon that the Deſcent of the River made ſo great a Current, he was enforced to diſembogue at the Mouth of the ſaid *Amazones*, which cannot be leſs than a thouſand Leagues from the Place where they embarked: From thence he coaſted the Land till he arrived at *Marguerita*, to the

North of *Mompatar*, which is at this Day called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there ſlew *Don Juan de Villa Andreda*, Governor of *Marguerita*, who was Father to *Don Juan Sermiento*, Governor of *Marguerita* when Sir *John Burgh* landed there, and attempted the Iſland. *Agiri* put to the Sword all others in the Iſland that refuſed to be of his Party, and took with him certain *Ceremones*, and other deſperate Companions. From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there ſlew the Governor, and dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: He ſpoiled all the Coaſt of *Caracas*, and the Province of *Venſuello*, and of *Rio de Hache*, and, as I remember, it was the ſame Year that Sir *John Hawkins* ſailed to *Saint Juan de Lua*, in the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*; for himſelf told me, that he met with ſuch a one upon the Coaſt that rebelled, and had ſailed down all the River of *Amazones*. *Agiri*, from hence, landed about *Sancta Marta*, and ſacked it alſo, putting to Death ſo many as refuſed to be his Followers, purpoſing to invade *Nuevo Reygno de Granado*, and to ſack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tuvia*, and the reſt of the Cities of *Nuevo Reygno*, and from thence again to enter *Peru*; but in a Fight in the ſaid *Nuevo Reygno* he was overthrown, and finding no Way to eſcape, he firſt put to the Sword his own Children, foretelling them, that they ſhould not live to be defamed, or upbraided by the *Spaniards* after his Death, who would have termed them the Children of a Traytor or Tyrant, and that ſince he could not make them Princes, he would yet deliver them from Shame and Reproach. Theſe were the Ends and Tragedies of *Oreliano*, *Ordace*, *Oſua*, *Martines*, and *Agiri*.

After theſe followed *Jeronimo Ortal de Saragoſa* with one hundred and thirty Soldiers, who failing his Entrance by Sea was caſt with the Current on the Coaſt of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguel de Neueri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de Sylva*, a *Portugueſe* of of the Family of *Rigomes de Sylva*, and by the Favour which *Rigomes* had with the King, he was ſet out; but he

he alſo ſhot wide of the Mark; for being departed from *Spain* with his Fleet, he entered by *Maragnon* or *Amazones*, where, by the Nations of the River, and by the *Amazones*, he was utterly overthrown, and himſelf and all his Army defeated, only ſeven eſcaped, and of thoſe but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *Weſt-Indies*, taking his Journey by Land towards *Oroonoko*, which may be ſome hundred and twenty Leagues; but ere he came to the Borders of the ſaid River, he was ſet upon by a Nation of *Indians* called *Wikiri*, and overthrown in ſuch Sort, that of three hundred Soldiers, Horſemen, many *Indians* and *Negroes*, there returned but eighteen: Others affirm that he was defeated in the very Entrance of *Guiana*, at the firſt civil Town of the Empire, called *Macureguarai*. Captain *Preſton* in taking *S. Jago de Leon* (which was by him and his Companies very reſolutely performed, being a great Town, and far within the Land) held a Gentleman Priſoner, who died in his Ship, that was one of the Company of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and ſaved among thoſe that eſcaped, who witneſſed what Opinion is held among the *Spaniards* thereabouts of the great Riches of *Guiana*, and *El Dorado* the City of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboard me by Captain *Preſton*, who told me in the the Hearing of himſelf and divers other Gentlemen, that he met with *Berreo*'s Camp-maſter at *Caracas*, when he came from the Borders of *Guiana*, and that he ſaw with him forty of moſt pure Plates of Gold curiouſly wrought, and Swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with Gold, Feathers garniſhed with Gold, and divers Rarities which he carried to the *Spaniſh* King.

After *Hernandez de Serpa*, it was undertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Caſada*, who was one of the chiefeſt in the Conqueſt of *Nuevo Reygno*, whoſe Daughter and Heir *Don Antonio de Berreo* married. *Gonzales* fought the Paſſage alſo by the River called

called *Papamene*, which riſeth by *Quito* in *Peru*, and runneth South-eaſt one hundred Leagues, and then falleth into *Amazones*, but he alſo failing the Entrance, returned with the Loſs of much Labour and Coſt: I took one Captain *George*, a *Spaniard*, that followed *Gonzales* in this Enterpriſe. *Gonzales* gave his Daughter to *Berreo*, taking his Oath and Honour to follow the Enterpriſe to the laſt of his Subſtance and Life, who ſince, as he hath ſworn to me, hath ſpent three hundred thouſand Ducats in the ſame, and yet never could enter ſo far into the Land as myſelf, with that poor Troop, or rather a handful of Men, being in all about one hundred, Gentlemen, Soldiers, Rowers, Boat-keepers, Boys, and of all Sorts; neither could any of the fore-paſſed Undertakers, nor *Berreo* himſelf, diſcover the Country, till now lately by Conference with an ancient King called *Carapana* he got the true Light thereof; for *Berreo* came above fifteen hundred Miles ere he underſtood ought, or could find any Paſſage or Entrance into any Part thereof, yet he had Experience of all theſe fore-named, and divers others, and was perſuaded of their Errors and Miſtakings. *Berreo* ſought it by the River *Caſſanar*, which falleth into a great River called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is alſo called *Oroonoko*.

He took his Journey from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* where he dwelt, having the Inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in thoſe Parts; he was followed with ſeven hundred Horſe, he drove with him a thouſand Head of Cattle, he had alſo many Women, *Indians*, and Slaves. How all theſe Rivers croſs and encounter, how the Country lieth and is bordered, the Paſſage of *Cemenes*, and of *Berreo*, mine own Diſcovery, and the Way that I entered, with all the reſt of the Nations and Rivers, your Lordſhip ſhall receive in a large Chart, or Map, which I have not yet finiſhed, and which I ſhall moſt humbly pray your Lordſhip to ſecret, and not to ſuffer it to paſs your own Hands; for by a Draught thereof all

all may be prevented by other Nations: For I know it is this very Year ſought by the *French*, although by the Way that they now take, I fear it not much. It was alſo told me ere I departed *England*, that *Villiers* the Admiral was in Preparation for the Planting of *Amazones*, to which River the *French* have made divers Voyages, and returned much Gold and other Rarities. I ſpake with a Captain of a *French* Ship that came from thence, his Ship riding in *Falmouth*, the ſame Year that my Ships came firſt from *Virginia*.

There was another this Year in *Helford* that alſo came from thence, and had been fourteen Months at an Anchor in *Amazones*, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perſuaded, *Guiana* cannot be entered that Way, yet no doubt the Trade of Gold from thence paſſeth by Branches of Rivers into the River of *Amazones*, and ſo it doth on every Hand far from the Country itſelf; for thoſe *Indians* of *Trinedado* have Plates of Gold from *Guiana*, and thoſe *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Iſlands by which our Ships paſs yearly to the *Weſt-Indies*, alſo the *Indians* of *Paria*, thoſe *Indians* called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all thoſe other Nations inhabiting near about the Mountains that run from *Paria* through the Province of *Venſuello*, and in *Maracapana*, and the *Canibals* of *Guanipa*, the *Indians* called *Aſſawai Coaca*, *Aiai*, and the reſt (all which ſhall be deſcribed in my Deſcription as they are ſituate) have Plates of Gold of *Guiana*. And upon the River of *Amazones*, *Thevet* writeth, that the People wear *Croiſſants* of Gold, for of that Form the *Guianians* moſt commonly make them: So as from *Dominica* to *Amazones*, which is above two hundred and fifty Leagues, all the chief *Indians* in all Parts wear of thoſe Plates of *Guiana*. Undoubtedly thoſe that trade with the *Amazones* return much Gold, which (as is afore ſaid) cometh by Trade from *Guiana*, by ſome Branch of a River that falleth from the Country into *Amazones*; and either it is by the River

River which paſſeth by the Nations called *Tiſnados*, or by *Carepuna*. I made Inquiry amongſt the moſt ancient and beſt travelled of the *Orenoquepani*, and I had Knowledge of all the Rivers between *Oroonoko* and *Amazones*, and was very deſirous to underſtand the Truth of thoſe warlike Women, becauſe of ſome it is believed, of others not: And though I digreſs from my Purpoſe, yet I will ſet down what hath been delivered me for Truth of thoſe Women, and I ſpake with a *Caſique* or Lord of the People that told me he had been in the River, and beyond it alſo. The Nations of theſe Women are on the South Side of the River in the Provinces of *Topago*, and their chiefeſt Strengths and Retreats are in the Iſlands ſituate on the South Side of the Entrance, ſome 60 Leagues within the Mouth of the ſaid River. The Memories of the like Women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Aſia*: In *Africa* thoſe that had *Meduſa* for Queen: Others in *Scythia* near the Rivers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon*: We find alſo that *Lampedo* and *Marthefia* were Queens of the *Amazones*: In many Hiſtories they are verified to have been, and in divers Ages and Provinces: But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompany with Men but once in a Year, and for the Time of one Month, which I gather by their Relation to be in *April*. At that Time all the Kings of the Borders aſſemble, and the Queens of the *Amazones*; and after the Queens have choſen, the reſt caſt Lots for their Valentines. This one Month, they feaſt, dance, and drink of their Wines in Abundance, and the Moon being down, they all depart to their own Provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a Son, they return him to the Father; if of a Daughter, they nouriſh it, and retain it, and as many as have Daughters ſend unto the Begetters a Preſent, all being deſirous to increaſe their own Sex and Kind; but that they cut off the right Dug of the Breaſt I do not find to be true. It

was

was farther told me, that if in the Wars they took any Priſoners, that they uſed to accompany with thoſe alſo at what Time ſoever, but in the End for certain they put them to Death: For they are ſaid to be very cruel and blood-thirſty, eſpecially to ſuch as offer to invade their Territories. Theſe *Amazones* have likewiſe great Store of theſe Plates of Gold, which they recover by Exchange, chiefly for a Kind of green Stones, which the *Spaniards* call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we uſe for Spleen Stones, and for the Diſeaſe of the Stone we alſo eſteem them: Of theſe I ſaw divers in *Guiana*, and commonly every King or *Caſique* hath one, which their Wives for the moſt part wear, and they eſteem them as great Jewels.

But to return to the Enterprize of *Berreo*, who (as I have ſaid) departed from *Nuevo Reyno* with 700 Horſe, beſides the Proviſions above rehearſed; he deſcended by the River *Caſſanar*, which riſeth in *Nuevo Reyno* out of the Mountains by the City of *Tuvia*, from which Mountain alſo ſpringeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great River of *Meta*, and *Meta* riſeth from a Mountain joining to *Pampelone* in the ſame *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*: Theſe, as alſo *Guaire*, which iſſueth out of the Mountains by *Timana*, fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his Heads, for at their coming together, they looſe their Names, and *Baraquan* farther down is alſo rebaptized by the Name of *Oroonoko*. On the other Side of the City and Hills of *Timana* riſeth *Rio Grande*, which falleth into the Sea by *Sancta Marta*. By *Caſſonar* firſt, and ſo into *Meta*, *Berreo* paſſed, keeping his Horſemen on the Banks, where the Country ſerved them for to march, and where otherwiſe he was driven to embark them in Boats which he builded for the Purpoſe, and ſo came with the Current down the River of *Meta*, and ſo into *Baraquan*. After he entered that great and mighty River, he began daily to looſe of his Companies both Men and Horſe, for it is in many Places violently ſwift,

ſwift, and hath forcible Eddies, many Sands, and divers Iſlands ſharp-pointed with Rocks: But after one whole Year, journeying for the moſt Part by River, and the reſt by Land, he grew daily to fewer Numbers, for both by Sickneſs and by encountring with the People of thoſe Regions, through which he travelled, his Companies were much waſted, eſpecially by divers Incounters with the *Amapaiens*: And in all this Time he never could learn of any Paſſage into *Guiana*, nor any News or Fame thereof, until he came to the farther Border of the ſaid *Amapaia*, eight Days Journey from the River *Caroli*, which was the fartheſt River that we entered. Among thoſe of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of theſe People accoſted *Berreo*, or would trade with him the firſt three Months of the ſix which he ſojourned there. This *Amapaia* is alſo marvellous rich in Gold (as both *Berreo* confeſſed, and thoſe of *Guiana* with whom I had moſt Conference) and is ſituate upon *Oroonoko* alſo. In this Country *Berreo* loſt 60 of his beſt Soldiers, and moſt of all his Horſe that remained of his former Year's Travel: But in the End, after divers Encounters with thoſe Nations, they grew to Peace, and they preſented *Berreo* with 10 Images of fine Gold among divers other Plates and *Croiſſants*, which, as he ſwore to me and divers otherGentlemen, were ſo curiouſly wrought, as he had not ſeen the like either in *Italy*, *Spain*, or the *Low-Countries*: and he was aſſur'd that when they came to the Hands of the *Spaniſh* King, to whom he had ſent them by his Camp-maſter, they would appear very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a Nation as had no Iron Inſtrument at all, nor any of thoſe Helps which our Gold-ſmiths have to work withal. The particular Name of the People in *Amapaia* which gave him theſe Pieces are called *Anebas*, and the River of *Oroonoko* at that Place is above 12 *Engliſh* Miles broad, which may be from his Out-fall into the Sea 700 or 800 Miles.

This

This Province of *Amapaia* is a very low and a mariſh ground near the River, and by Reaſon of the red Water which iſſueth out in ſmall Branches through the fenny and boggy Ground, there bred divers poiſonful Worms and Serpents, and the *Spaniards* not ſuſpecting, nor in any ſort foreknowing the Danger, were infected with a grievous Kind of Flux by drinking thereof, and even the very Horſes were poiſoned therewith: In ſo much as at the End of the ſix Months that they abode there, of all their Troops, there were not left above 120 Soldiers, and neither Horſe nor Cattle. For *Berreo* hoped to have found *Guiana* by 1000 Miles nearer than it fell out to be in the End, by Means whereof they ſuſtained much Want and much Hunger, oppreſſed with grievous Diſeaſes, and all the Miſeries that could be imagined. I demanded of thoſe in *Guiana* that had travelled *Amapaia*, how they lived with that tawny or red Water when they travelled thither, and they told me, that after the Sun was near the Middle of the Sky, they uſed to fill their Pots and Pitchers with that Water; but either before that Time, or towards the Setting of the Sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the Night ſtrong Poiſon. I learned alſo of divers other Rivers of that Nature among them, which were alſo (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very ſafe to drink, and in the Morning, Evening, and Night, wonderful dangerous and infective. From this Province *Berreo* haſted away as ſoon as the Spring and Beginning of Summer appeared, and ſought his Entrance on the Borders of *Oroonoko* on the South Side, but there ran a Ledge of ſo high and impaſſable Mountains, as he was not able by any Means to march over them, continuing from the Eaſt-Sea, into which *Oroonoko* falleth, even to *Quito* in *Peru*: Neither had he Means to carry Victuals or Munition over thoſe craggy, high, and vaſt Hills, being all woody, and thoſe ſo thick and ſpiny, and ſo full of Prickles, Thorns, and Briers, as it is impoſſible

poſſible to creep through them: He had alſo neither Friendſhip among the People, nor any Interpreter to perſwade or treat with them, and more to his Diſadvantage, the *Caſiqui* and Kings of *Amapaia* had given Knowledge of his Purpoſe to the *Guianians*, and that he ſought to ſack and conquer the Empire, for the Hope of their ſo great Abundance and Quantities of Gold: He paſſed by the Mouths of many great Rivers, which fell into *Oroonoko* both from the North and South, which I forbear to name for Tediouſneſs, and becauſe they are more pleaſing in deſcribing than reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred Rivers into *Oroonoko* from the North and South, whereof the leaſt was as big as *Rio Grande*, that paſſeth between *Popayan*, and *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (*Rio Grande* being eſteemed one of the moſt renowned Rivers in all the *Weſt-Indies*, and numbered among the great Rivers of the World:) But he knew not the Names of any of theſe, but *Caroli* only, neither from what Nations they deſcended, neither to what Provinces they led, for he had no Means to diſcourſe with the Inhabitants at any Time: Neither was he curious in theſe Things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the Eaſt from the Weſt. But of all theſe I got ſome Knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own Travel, and the reſt by Conference: Of ſome one I learned one, of others the reſt, having with me an *Indian* that ſpake many Languages, and that of *Guiana* naturally. I ſought out all the aged Men, and ſuch as were greateſt Travellers, and by the one and the other I came to underſtand the Situations, the Rivers, the Kingdoms from the Eaſt-Sea to the Borders of *Peru*, and from *Oroonoko* ſouthward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the Regions of *Maria Tamball*, and of all the Kings of Provinces, and Captains of Towns and Villages, how they ſtood in Times of Peace or War, and which were Friends or Enemies the one with

the other, without which there can be neither Entrance nor Conqueſt in thoſe Parts, nor elſewhere: For by the Diſſention between *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa*, *Paçaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the Hatred that the *Traxcallians* bore to *Montezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious over *Mexico*, without which both the one and the other had failed of their Enterprize, and of the great Honour and Riches which they attained unto.

Now *Berreo* began to grow into Deſpair, and looked for no other Succeſs than his Predeceſſors in this Enterprize, until ſuch Time as he arrived at the Province of *Emeria* towards the Eaſt-Sea and Mouth of the River, where he found a Nation of People very favourable, and the Country full of all Manner of Victuals. The King of this Land is called *Carapana*; a Man very wiſe, ſubtile, and of great Experience, being little leſs than a hundred Years old: In his Youth, he was ſent by his Father into the Iſland of *Trinedado*, by Reaſon of civil War among themſelves, and was bred at a Village in that Iſland called *Parico*: At that Place, in his Youth, he had ſeen many Chriſtians both *French* and *Spaniſh*, and went divers Times with the *Indians* of *Trinedado* to *Marguerita* and *Cumana* in the *Weſt-Indies*, (for both thoſe Places have ever been relieved with Victual from *Trinedado*) by Reaſon whereof he grew of more Underſtanding, and noted the Difference of the Nations, comparing the Strength and Armies of his Country with thoſe of the Chriſtians, and ever after temporized ſo, as whoſoever elſe did amiſs, or was waſted by Contention, *Carapana* kept himſelf and his Country in Quiet and Plenty: He alſo held Peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his Neighbours, and had free Trade with all Nations whoſoever elſe had War.

Berreo ſojourned and reſted his weak Troop in the Town of *Carapana* ſix Weeks, and from him learned the Way and Paſſage to *Guiana*, and the Riches and Magnificence thereof: But being then utterly unable

to

to proceed, he determined to try his Fortune another Year, when he had renewed his Proviſions, and regathered more Force, which he hoped for, as well out of *Spain* as from *Nuevo Reyno*, where he had left his Son *Don Anthonio Xemenes* to ſecond him upon the firſt Notice given of his Entrance, and ſo for the preſent embarked himſelf in *Cano's*, and by the Branches of *Oroonoko* arrived at *Trinedado*, having from *Carapana* ſufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinedado* he coaſted *Paria*, and ſo recovered *Marguerita:* And having made Relation to *Don Juan Sermiento* the Governor, of his Proceeding, and perſwaded him of the Riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence 50 Soldiers, promiſing preſently to return to *Carapana*, and ſo into *Guiana*. But *Berreo* meant nothing leſs at that Time, for he wanted many Proviſions neceſſary for ſuch an Enterprize, and therefore departing from *Marguerita*, ſeated himſelf in *Trinedado*, and from thence ſent his Camp-maſter and his Serjeant-major back to the Borders, to diſcover the neareſt Paſſage into the Empire, as alſo to treat with the Borderers, and to draw them to his Party and Love, without which, he knew he could neither paſs ſafely, nor in any Sort be relieved with Victuals or ought elſe. *Carapana* directed this Company to a King called *Morequito*, aſſuring them that no Man could deliver ſo much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his Dwelling was but five Days Journey from *Macureguari*, the firſt civil Town of *Guiana*.

Now your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand that this *Morequito*, one of the greateſt Lords or Kings of the Borders of *Guiana*, had two or three Years before been at *Cumana* and at *Marguerita* in the *Weſt-Indies*, with great Store of Plates of Gold, which he carried to exchange for ſuch other Things as he wanted in his own Country, and was daily feaſted, and preſented by the Governors of thoſe Places, and held amongſt them ſome two Months; in which Time one *Vides*, Governor

Governor of *Cumana* won him to be his Conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by thoſe *Croiſſants* and Images of Gold which he brought with him to trade, as alſo by the ancient Fame and Magnificence of *El Dorado*: Whereupon *Vides* ſent into *Spain* for a Patent to diſcover and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the Precedence of *Berreo*'s Patent, which, as *Berreo* affirmeth, was ſigned before that of *Vides*: So as when *Vides* underſtood of *Berreo*, and that he had made Entrance into that Territory, and foregone his Deſire and Hope, it was verily thought that *Vides* practiſed with *Morequito* to hinder and diſturb *Berreo* in all he could, and not to ſuffer him to enter through his *Seignory*, nor any of his Companies, neither to victual, nor guide them in any Sort; for *Vides* Governor of *Cumana*, and *Berreo* were become mortal Enemies, as well for that *Berreo* had gotten *Trinedado* into his Patent with *Guiana*, as alſo in that he was by *Berreo* prevented in the Journey of *Guiana* it ſelf: Howſoever it was I know not, but *Morequito* for a Time diſſembled his Diſpoſition, ſuffered *Spaniards*, and a Frier (which *Berreo* had ſent to diſcover *Manoa*) to travel through his Country, gave them a Guide for *Macureguarai* the firſt Town of civil and apparelled People, from whence they had other Guides to bring them to *Manoa* the great City of *Inga*: And being furniſhed with thoſe Things, which they had learned of *Carapana*, were of moſt Price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleven Days arrived at *Manoa*, as *Berreo* affirmeth for certain: Although I could not be aſſured thereof by the Lord which now governeth the Province of *Morequito*, for he told me that they got all the Gold they had, in other Towns on this ſide *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he ſaid) built like the Towns of *Chriſtians*, with many Rooms.

When theſe ten *Spaniards* were returned, and ready to put out of the Border of *Arromaia*, the People of *Morequito* ſet upon them, and ſlew them all but one that ſwam the River, and took from them to the

Value of 40000 Peſoes of Gold, and as it is written in the ſtory of *Job*, one only lived to bring the News to *Berreo*, that both his nine Soldiers and holy Father were benighted in the ſaid Province. I my ſelf ſpake with the Captains of *Morequito* that ſlew them, and was at the Place where it was executed. *Berreo*, inraged herewithal, ſent all the ſtrength he could make into *Arromaia*, to be revenged of him, his People, and Country: But *Morequito* ſuſpecting the ſame fled over *Oroonoko*, and through the Territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recovered *Cumana*, where he thought himſelf very ſafe with *Vides* the Governor: But *Berreo* ſending for him in the King's Name, and his Meſſengers finding him in the Houſe of one *Faſhardo* on the ſudden ere it was ſuſpected, ſo as he could not then be conveyed away, *Vides* durſt not deny him, as well to avoid the Suſpicion of the Practice, as alſo for that an holy Father was ſlain by him and his People. *Morequito* offered *Faſhardo* the Weight of three Quintals in Gold, to let him eſcape, but the poor *Guianian* betrayed of all Sides was delivered to the Campmaſter of *Berreo*, and was preſently executed.

After the Death of this *Morequito*, the Soldiers of *Berreo* ſpoiled his Territory, and took divers Priſoners, among others they took the Unkle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now King of *Arromaia*, (whoſe Son I brought with me into *England*) and is a Man of great Underſtanding and Policy: He is above 100 Years old, and yet of a very able Body: The *Spaniards* led him in a Chain 17 Days, and made him their Guide from Place to Place between his Country and *Emeria* the Province of *Carapana* aforeſaid, and was at laſt redeemed for 100 Plates of Gold, and divers Stones called *Piedras Hyadas*, or *Spleen* Stones. Now *Berreo* for executing of *Morequito* and other Cruelties, Spoils, and Slaughters done in *Arromaia* hath loſt the Love of the *Oroonokoponi*, and of all the Borderers, and dare not ſend any of his Soldiers any farther into the Land than

than to *Carapana*, which he calleth the Port of *Guiana*: But from thence by the Help of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the Country, and always appointed 10 *Spaniards* to reſide in *Carapanas* Town, by whoſe Favour, and by being conducted by his People, thoſe ten ſearched the Country thereabouts as well for Mines, as for other Trades and Commodities.

They have alſo gotten a Nephew of *Morequito*, whom they have chriſtened and named *Don Juan*, of whom they have great Hope, endeavouring by all Means to eſtabliſh him in the ſaid Province. Among many other Trades thoſe *Spaniards* uſed in *Cano's* to paſs to the Rivers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Diſſequebe*, which are on the South-Side of the Mouth of *Oroonoko*, and there buy Women and Children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous Nature, as they will for 3 or 4 Hatchets ſell the Sons and Daughters of their own Brethren and Siſters, and for ſomewhat more even their own Daughters: Hereof the *Spaniards* make great Profit, for buying a Maid of 12 or 13 Years for three or four Hatchets, they ſell them again at *Marguerita* in the *Weſt Indies* for 50 and 100 Peſoes, which is ſo many Crowns.

The Maſter of my Ship *Jo. Douglas* took one of the *Cano's* which came laden from thence with People to be ſold, and the moſt of them eſcaped, yet of thoſe he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well ſhaped as ever I ſaw any in *England*, and afterward I ſaw many of them, which but for their tawny Colour may be compared to any of *Europe*. They alſo trade in thoſe Rivers for Bread of *Caſſaui*, of which they buy an Hundred Pound Weight for a Knife, and ſell it at *Marguerita* for ten Peſoes. They alſo recover great ſtore of Cotton, Braſil-wood, and thoſe Beds which they call *Hamacas* or Braſil-Beds, wherein in hot Countries all the *Spaniards* uſe to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourſelves while we were there: By Means of which Trades, for Ranſom

of divers of the *Guianians*, and for Exchange of Hatchets and Knives, *Berreo* recovered ſome Store of Gold Plates, Eagles of Gold, and Images of Men and divers Birds, and diſpatched his Campmaſter for *Spain* with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy Soldiers, and by the Shew thereof to draw others to the Love of the Enterprize: And having ſent divers Images as well of Men as Beaſts, Birds and Fiſhes ſo curiouſly wrought in Gold, doubted not but to perſuade the King to yield to him ſome further Help, eſpecially for that this Land hath never been ſacked, the Mines never wrought, and in the Indies their Works were well ſpent, and the Gold drawn out with great Labour and Charge: He alſo diſpatched Meſſengers to his Son in *Nuevo reyno* to levy all the Forces he could, and to come down the River of *Oroonoko* to *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, to meet him: He had alſo ſent to *Sant Jago de Leon* on the Coaſt of the *Caraccas* to buy Horſes and Mules.

After I had thus learned of his Proceedings paſt and purpoſed: I told him that I had reſolved to ſee *Guiana*, and that it was the End of my Journey, and the Cauſe of my coming to *Trinedado*, as it was indeed, (and for that Purpoſe I ſent *Ja. Whiddon* the Year before to get Intelligence, with whom *Berreo* himſelf had Speech at that Time, and remembred how inquiſitive *Ja. Whiddon* was of his Proceedings, and of the Country of *Guiana*,) *Berreo* was ſtricken into a great Melancholy and Sadneſs, and uſed all the Arguments he could to diſſuade me, and alſo aſſured the Gentlemen of my Company that it would be Labour loſt: And that they ſhould ſuffer many Miſeries if they proceeded: And Firſt he delivered that I could not enter any of the Rivers with any Bark or Pinnace, nor hardly with any Ships Boat, it was ſo low, ſandy, and full of Flats, and that his Companies were daily grounded in their *Cano's* which drew but twelve Inches Water: He further ſaid, that none of the Country would come to

to ſpeak with us, but would all fly, and if we followed them to their Dwellings, they would burn their own Towns; and beſides that the Way was long, the Winter at Hand, and that the Rivers beginning once to ſwell, it was impoſſible to ſtem the Current, and that we could not in thoſe ſmall Boats by any Means carry Victual for half the Time, and that (which indeed moſt diſcouraged my Company) the Kings and Lords of all the Borders and of *Guiana* had decreed, that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for Gold, becauſe the ſame would be their own Overthrow, and that for the Love of Gold the Chriſtians meant to conquer and diſpoſſeſs them of all together.

Many and the moſt of theſe I found to be true; but yet I reſolving to make Trial of all, whatſoever happened, directed Captain *George Gifford* my Vice-admiral to take the *Lions Whelp*, and Captain *Calfield* his Bark to turn to the Eaſtward, againſt the Breeze what they could poſſible, to recover the Mouth of a River called *Capuri*, whoſe Entrance I had before ſent Captain *Whiddon* and *Jo. Douglas* the Maſter, to diſcover, who found ſome nine Foot Water or better upon the Flood, and five at low Water, to whom I had given Inſtructions that they ſhould anchor at the Edge of the Shold, and upon the beſt of the Flood to thruſt over, which Shold *John Douglas* boyed and beckoned for them before: But they laboured in vain, for neither could they turn it up altogether ſo far to the Eaſt, neither did the Flood continue ſo long, but the Water fell ere they could have paſſed the Sands, as we after found by ſecond Experience: So as now we muſt either give over our Enterprize, or leaving our Ships at Adventure 400 Miles behind us, to run up in our Ships Boats, one Barge, and two Wherries; but being doubtful how to carry Victuals for ſo long a Time in ſuch Baubles, or any Strength of Men, eſpecially for that *Berreo* aſſured us that his Son muſt be by that Time come down with many Soldiers, I ſent away one *King* Maſter of the

Lions Whelp with his Ships Boat to try another Branch of a River in the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to prove if there was Water to be found for either of the ſmall Ships to enter: But when he came to the Mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the reſt, but ſtayed not to diſcover it thoroughly, becauſe he was aſſured by an *Indian* his Guide that the Canibals of *Guanipa* would aſſail them with many *Canoe's*, and that they ſhot poiſoned Arrows, ſo as if he hafted not back they ſhould all be loſt.

In the mean Time fearing the worſt, I cauſed all the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Gallego* Boat, which we meant to caſt off, and to fit her with Banks to row on, and in all Things to prepare her the beſt they could, ſo as ſhe might be brought to draw but five Foot, for ſo much we had on the Bar of *Capuri* at low Water: And doubting of *King's* return I ſent *Jo. Douglas* again in my long Barge, as well to relieve him, as alſo to make a perfect Search in the Bottom of that Bay: For it hath been held for infallible that whatſoever Ship or Boat ſhall fall therein, can never diſembogue again, by Reaſon of the violent Current which ſetteth into the ſaid Bay, as alſo for that the Breeze and eaſterly Wind bloweth directly into the ſame, of which Opinion I have heard *John Hampton* of *Plimouth*, one of the greateſt Experience of *England*, and divers others beſides that have traded to *Trinedado*.

I ſent with *John Douglas* an old *Caſſique* of *Trinedado* for a Pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the Bay or Gulf, but that he knew a by Branch which ran within the Land to the Eaſtward, and that he thought by it we might fall into *Capuri*, and ſo return in four Days: *John Douglas* ſearched thoſe Rivers, and found four goodly Entrances, whereof the leaſt was as big as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*: but in the Bay thitherward it was ſhole and but ſix Foot Water, ſo as we were now without Hope of any Ship or Bark to paſs over, and therefore reſolved to go on with the Boats,

Boats, and the Bottom of the *Gallego*, in which we thruſt 60 Men: In the *Lions Whelps* Boat and Wherry we carried 20. Captain *Calfield* in his Wherry carried ten more, and in my Barge other ten, which made up a Hundred: We had no other Means but to carry Victual for a Month in the ſame, and alſo to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dreſs our Meat. Captain *Gifford* had with him Maſter *Edw. Porter*, Captain *Eynos*, and eight more in his Wherry with all their Victual, Weapons, and Proviſions: Captain *Calfield* had with him my Couſin *Butſhead Gorges* and eight more. In the Galley, of Gent. and Officers myſelf had Captain *Thyn*, my choſen *John Greenvile*, my Nephew *John Gilbert*, Captain *Whiddon*, Captain *Keymis*, *Edw. Hancoke*, Captain *Clarke*, Lieutenant *Hewes*, *Tho. Upton*, Captain *Facy*, *Jerome Ferrar*, *Antho. Wells*, *Wil. Connock*, and about 50 more. We could not learn of *Berreo* any other Way to enter but in Branches, ſo far to the Windward as it was impoſſible for us to recover: For we had as much Sea to croſs over in our Wherries as between *Dover* and *Calais*, and in a great Billow, the Wind and Current being both very ſtrong, ſo as we were driven to go in thoſe ſmall Boats directly before the Wind into the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the Mouth of ſome one of thoſe Rivers, which *Jo. Douglas* had laſt diſcovered, and had with us for Pilot an *Indian* of *Barema*, a River to the South of *Oroonoko*, between that and *Amazones*, whoſe *Cano's* we had formerly taken as he was going from the ſaid *Barema*, laden with *Caſſavi* Bread to ſell at *Marguerita:* This *Arwacan* promiſed to bring me into the great River of *Oroonoko*, but indeed of that which we entred he was utterly ignorant, for he had not ſeen it in twelve Years before, at which Time he was very young, and of no Judgment, and if God had not ſent us another Help, we might have wandred a whole Year in that Labyrinth of Rivers, ere we had found any Way, either out or

in, eſpecially after we were paſt the Ebbing and Flowing, which was in four Days: For I know all the Earth doth not yield the like Confluence of Streams and Branches, the one croſſing the other ſo many Times, and alſo fair and large, and ſo like one to another, as no Man can tell which to take: And if we went by the Sun or Compaſs hoping thereby to go directly one Way or other, yet that Way we were alſo carried in a Circle amongſt Multitudes of Iſlands, and every Iſland ſo bordered with high Trees, as no Man could ſee any further than the Breadth of the River, or Length of the Breach: But thus it chanced, that entring into a River, (which becauſe it had no Name we called the River of the *Red-Croſs*, ourſelves being the Firſt *Chriſtians* that ever came therein:) The 22d of *May* as we were rowing up the ſame, we eſpied a ſmall *Cano* with three *Indians*, which (by the Swiftneſs of my Barge, rowing with eight Oars) I overtook ere they could croſs the River; the reſt of the People on the Banks ſhadowed under the thick Wood gazed on with a doubtful Conceit what might befal thoſe three which we had taken: But when they perceived that we offered them no Violence, neither entred their *Cano* with any of ours, nor took out of the *Cano* any of theirs, they then began to ſhew themſelves on the Bank's ſide, and offered to traffick with us for ſuch Things as they had; and as we drew near they all ſtaid, and we came with our Barge to the Mouth of a little Creek which came from their Town into the great River.

As we abode there a while, our *Indian* Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go aſhore to their Village to fetch ſome Fruits, and to drink of their artificial Wines, and alſo to ſee the Place, and to know the Lord of it againſt another Time, and took with him a Brother of his which he had with him in the Journey: When they came to the Village of theſe People, the Lord of the Iſland offered to lay Hands on them, purpoſing to have

have ſlain them both, yielding for Reaſon that this *Indian* of ours had brought a ſtrange Nation into their Territory to ſpoil and deſtroy them: But the Pilot being quick and of a diſpoſed Body ſlipt their Fingers, and ran into the Woods, and his Brother being the better Footman of the two, recovered the Creeks Mouth, where we ſtayed in our Barge, crying out that his Brother was ſlain; with that we ſet Hands on one of them that was next us, a very old Man, and brought him into the Barge, aſſuring him that if we had not our Pilot again, we would preſently cut off his Head. This old Man being reſolved that he ſhould pay the Loſs of the other, cried out to thoſe in the Woods to ſave *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithſtanding, and hunted after him upon the Foot with their Deer Dogs, and with ſo main a Cry that all the Woods echoed with the Shout they made; but at laſt this poor chaſed *Indian* recovered the River ſide, and got upon a Tree, and as we were coaſting, leaped down and ſwam to the Barge half dead with Fear; but our good Hap was, that we kept the other old *Indian*, which we handfaſted to redeem our Pilot withal, for being natural of thoſe Rivers, we aſſured ourſelves he knew the Way better than any Stranger could; and indeed, but for this Chance I think we had never found the Way either to *Guiana*, or back to our Ships: For *Ferdinando* after a few Days knew nothing at all, nor which Way to turn, yea and many Times the old Man himſelf was in great Doubt which River to take. Thoſe People which dwell in theſe broken Iſlands and drowned Lands are generally called *Tivitivas*; there are of them two Sorts, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*.

The great River of *Oroonoko* or *Baraquan* hath nine Branches which fall out on the North ſide of his own main Mouth: On the South ſide it hath ſeven other Fallings into the Sea, ſo it diſſembogueth by 16 Arms in all, between Iſlands and broken Ground, but the Iſlands

Iſlands are very great, many of them as big as the Iſle of *Wight* and bigger, and many leſs: From the firſt Branch on the North to the laſt of the South it is at leaſt 100 Leagues, ſo as the River's Mouth is no leſs than 300 Miles wide at his Entrance into the Sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of *Amazones:* All thoſe that inhabit in the Mouth of this River upon the ſeveral North Branches are theſe *Tivitivas*, of which there are two chief Lords which have continual Wars one with the other: The Iſlands which lie on the right Hand are called *Pallamos*, and the Land of the left *Hoiorotomaka*, and the River by which *John Douglas* returned within the Land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

Theſe *Tivitivas* are a very goodly People, and very valiant, and have the moſt manly Speech and moſt deliberate that ever I heard of what Nation ſoever. In the Summer they have Houſes on the Ground as in other Places: In the Winter they dwell upon the Trees, where they build very artificial Towns and Villages, as it is written in the *Spaniſh* Story of the *Weſt-Indies*, that thoſe People do in the Low-Lands near the Gulf of *Uraba:* For between *May* and *September* the River of *Oroonoko* riſeth thirty Foot upright, and then are thoſe Iſlands overflown twenty Foot high above the level of the Ground, ſaving ſome few raiſed Grounds in the Middle of them: And for this Cauſe they are enforced to live in this Manner. They never eat of any Thing that is ſet or ſown, and as at Home they uſe neither Planting nor other Manurance, ſo when they come abroad they refuſe to feed of ought, but of that which Nature without Labour bringeth forth. They uſe the Tops of *Palmitos* for Bread, and kill Deer, Fiſh and Porks for the reſt of their Suſtenance; they have alſo many Sorts of Fruits that grow in the Woods, and great Variety of Birds and Fowl.

And if to ſpeak of them were not tedious and vulgar, ſurely we ſaw in thoſe Paſſages of very rare Colours

lours and Forms, not elſewhere to be found, for as much as I have either ſeen or read. Of theſe People, thoſe that dwell upon the Branches of *Oroonoko* called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the moſt Part Carpenters of *Canoa's*, for they make the moſt and faireſt Houſes, and ſell them into *Guiana* for Gold, and into *Trinedado* for Tobacco, in the exceſſive taking whereof, they exceed all Nations; and notwithſtanding the Moiſtneſs of the Air in which they live, the Hardneſs of their Diet, and the great Labours they ſuffer to hunt, fiſh, and fowl for their living, in all my Life either in the *Indies* or in *Europe* did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured People, or a more manly. They were wont to make War upon all Nations, and eſpecially on the *Canibals*, ſo as none durſt without a good Strength trade by thoſe Rivers; but of late they are at Peace with their Neighbours, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common Enemy. When their Commanders die, they uſe great Lamentation, and when they think the Fleſh of their Bodies is putrified, and fallen from the Bones, then they take up the Carcaſe again, and hang it in the *Caſiqui's* Houſe that died, and deck his Skull with Feathers of all Colours, and hang all his Gold Plates about the Bones of his Arms, Thighs, and Legs. Thoſe Nations which are called *Arwacas* which dwell on the South of *Oroonoko*, (of which Place and Nation our *Indian* Pilot was) are diſperſed in many other Places, and do uſe to beat the Bones of their Lords into Powder, and their Wives and Friends drink it all in their ſeveral Sorts of Drinks.

After we departed from the Port of theſe *Ciawani*, we paſſed up the River with the Flood, and anchored the Ebb, and in this Sort we went onward. The third Day that we entred the River our *Galley* came on Ground and ſtuck ſo faſt, as we thought that even there our Diſcovery had ended, and that we muſt have left 60 of our Men to have inhabited like Rooks upon Trees with thoſe Nations: But the next Morning, after we

we had caſt out all her Ballaſt, with tugging and hawling two and fro, we got her afloat, and went on: At four Days End we fell into as goodly a River as ever I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directly without Windings and Turnings than the other. But ſoon after the Flood of the Sea left us, and were enforced either by main Strength to row againſt a violent Current, or to return as wiſe as we went out; we had then no Shift but to perſuade the Companies that it was but two or three Days Work, and therefore deſired them to take Pains, every Gentleman and others taking their Turns to row, and to ſpell one the other at the Hour's End. Every Day we paſſed by goodly Branches of Rivers, ſome falling from the Weſt, others from the Eaſt into *Amana*, but thoſe I leave to the Deſcription in the Chart of Diſcovery, where every one ſhall be named with his Riſing and Deſcent. When three Days more were overgone, our Companies began to deſpair, the Weather being extreme hot, the River bordered with very high Trees that kept away the Air, and the Current againſt us every Day ſtronger than other: But we evermore commanded our Pilots to promiſe an End the next Day, and uſed it ſo long as we were driven to aſſure them from four Reaches of the River to three, and ſo to two, and ſo to the next Reach: But ſo long we laboured as many Days were ſpent, and ſo driven to draw ourſelves to harder Allowance, our Bread even at the laſt, and no drink at all: And our Men and ourſelves ſo wearied and ſcorched, and doubtful withal whether we ſhould ever perform it or no, the Heat encreaſing as we drew towards the Line; for we were now in five Degrees.

The farther we went on (our Victual decreaſing and the Air breeding great Faintneſs) we grew weaker and weaker when we had moſt need of Strength and Ability, for hourly the River ran more violently than other againſt us, and the Barge, Wherries, and Ships Boat of Captain *Gifford*, and Captain *Calfield*, had

ſpent all their Proviſions, ſo as we were brought into Deſpair and Diſcomfort, had we not perſuaded all the Company that it was but only one Day's Work more to attain the Land where we ſhould be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned, that we were ſure to ſtarve by the Way, and that the World would alſo laugh us to ſcorn. On the Banks of theſe Rivers were divers Sorts of Fruits good to eat, Flowers and Trees of that Variety as were ſufficient to make ten Volumes of Herbals. We relieved ourſelves many Times with the Fruits of the Country, and ſometimes with Fowl and Fiſh: We ſaw Birds of all Colours, ſome carnation, ſome crimſon, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other Sorts both ſimple and mixt, as it was unto us a great good paſſing of the Time to behold them, beſides the Relief we found by killing ſome ſtore of them with our fowling Pieces, without which, having little or no Bread and leſs Drink, but only the thick and troubled Water of the River, we had been in a very hard Caſe.

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani* (whom, as I ſaid before, we took to redeem *Ferdinando*,) told us, that if we would enter a Branch of a River on the right Hand with our Barge and Wherries, and leave the Galley at anchor the while in the great River, he would bring us to a Town of the *Arwacas* where we ſhould find ſtore of Bread, Hens, Fiſh, and of the Country Wine, and perſuaded us that departing from the Galley at Noon, we might return ere Night: I was very glad to hear this Speech, and preſently took my Barge, with eight Muſketeers, Captain *Gifford*'s Wherry, with himſelf and four Muſketeers, and Captain *Calfield* with his Wherry and as many, and ſo we entered the Mouth of this River; and becauſe we were perſuaded that it was ſo near, we took no Victual with us at all: When we had rowed three Hours, we marvelled we ſaw no Sign of any Dwelling, and aſked the Pilot where the Town was, he told us a little farther: After three

Hours

Hours more the Sun being almoſt ſet, we began to ſuſpect that he led us that Way to betray us, for he confeſſed that thoſe *Spaniards* which fled from *Trinedado*, and alſo thoſe that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were joined together in ſome Village upon that River. But when it grew towards Night, and we demanding where the Place was, he told us but four Reaches more: When we had rowed four and four, we ſaw no Sign, and our poor Watermen even Heart-broken, and tired, were ready to give up the Ghoſt; for we had now come from the Galley near forty Miles.

At the laſt we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well known the Way back again by Night, he had ſurely gone, but our own Neceſſities pleaded ſufficiently for his Safety: For it was as dark as Pitch, and the River began ſo to narrow itſelf, and the Trees to hang over from Side to Side, as we were driven with arming Swords to cut a Paſſage thorough thoſe Branches that covered the Water. We were very deſirous to find this Town, hoping of a Feaſt, becauſe we made but a ſhort Breakfaſt aboard the *Galley* in the Morning, and it was now eight o' Clock at Night, and our Stomachs began to gnaw apace: But whether it was beſt to return or go on, we began to doubt, ſuſpecting Treaſon in the Pilot more and more: But the poor old *Indian* ever aſſured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at laſt about one o' Clock after Midnight we ſaw a Light, and rowing towards it, we heard the Dogs of the Village. When we landed we found few People, for the Lord of that Place was gone with divers *Cano's* above 400 Miles off, upon a Journey towards the Head of *Oroonoko* to trade for Gold, and to buy Women of the *Canibals*, who afterward unfortunately paſſed by us as we rode at an Anchor in the Port of *Morequito* in the dark of Night, and yet came ſo near us, as his *Cano's* grated againſt our Barges: He

He left one of his Company at the Port of *Morequito*, by whom we underſtood that he had brought thirty young Women, divers Plates of Gold, and had great Store of fine Pieces of Cotton-Cloth, and Cotton-Beds. In his Houſe we had good Store of Bread, Fiſh, Hens, and *Indian* Drink, and ſo reſted that Night, and in the Morning after we had traded with ſuch of his People as came down, we returned towards our Galley, and brought with us ſome Quantity of Bread, fiſh, and Hens.

On both Sides of this River, we paſſed the moſt beautiful Country that ever mine Eyes beheld: And whereas all that we had ſeen before was nothing but Woods, Prickles, Buſhes, and Thorns, here we beheld Plains of twenty Miles in Length, the Graſs ſhort and green, and in divers Parts Groves of Trees by themſelves, as if they had been by all the Art and Labour in the World ſo made of Purpoſe: And ſtill as we rowed, the Deer came down feeding by the Waters Side, as if they had been uſed to a Keeper's Call. Upon this River there were great Store of Fowl, and of many Sorts: We ſaw in it divers Sorts of ſtrange Fiſhes, and of marvellous Bigneſs, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thouſands of thoſe ugly Serpents, and the People call it for the Abundance of them the River of *Lagartos*, in their Language. I had a Negro a very proper young Fellow, that leaping out of the Galley to ſwim in the Mouth of the River, was in all our Sights taken and devoured with one of thoſe *Legartos*. In the mean while our Companies in the Galley thought we had been all loſt, (for we promiſed to return before Night) and ſent the *Lions Whelps* Ships Boat with Captain *Whiddon* to follow us up the River; but the next Day after we had rowed up and down ſome Fourſcore Miles, we returned, and went on our Way, up the great River, and when we were even at the laſt Caſt for Want of Victuals, Captain *Gifford* being before the Galley, and the reſt of the Boats,

the Morning outward, we were covered to the Shoulders homeward the very ſame Day: And to ſtay to dig out Gold with our Nails, had been *Opus Laboris*, but not *Ingenii:* Such a Quantity as would have ſerved our Turns we could not have had, but a Diſcovery of the Mines to our infinite Diſadvantage we had made: and that could have been the beſt Profit of farther Search or Stay; for thoſe Mines are not eaſily broken, nor opened in Haſte; and I could have returned a good Quantity of Gold ready caſt, if I had not ſhot at another Mark than preſent Profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the reſt, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwiſe have put them to ſome cruel Death; for the *Spaniards*, to the End that none of the People in the Paſſage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* itſelf might come to Speech with us, perſwaded all the Nations, that we were Men-eaters, and *Canibals:* But when the poor Men and Women had ſeen us, and that we gave them Meat, and to every one ſomething or other, which was rare and ſtrange to them, they began to conceive the Deceit and Purpoſe of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confeſſed) took from them both their Wives and Daughters daily, and uſed them for the ſatisfying of their own Luſts, eſpecially ſuch as they took in this Manner by Strength. But I proteſt before the Majeſty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe, that any of our Company one or other, by Violence or otherwiſe, ever knew any of their Women, and yet we ſaw many Hundreds, and had many in our Power, and of thoſe very young, and excellently favoured, which came among us without Deceit, ſtark naked.

Nothing got us more Love among them than this Uſage, for I ſuffered not any Man to take from any of the Nations ſo much as a *Pina*, or a *Potatoe* Root, without giving them Contentment, nor any Man ſo much as to offer to touch any of their Wives or Daughters: Which Courſe, ſo contrary to the *Spaniards* (who

tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire her Majeſty, whoſe Commandment I told them it was, and alſo wonderfully to honour our Nation. But I confeſs it was a very impatient Work to keep the meaner Sort from Spoil and Stealing, when we came to their Houſes, which becauſe in all I could not prevent, I cauſed my *Indian* Interpreter, at every Place when we departed, to know of the Loſs or Wrong done; and if ought were ſtolen or taken by Violence, either the ſame was reſtored, and the Party puniſhed in their Sight, or elſe it was paid for to their uttermoſt Demand. They alſo much wondred at us, after they heard that we had ſlain the *Spaniards* at *Trinedado*, for they were before reſolved, that no Nation of Chriſtians durſt abide their Preſence; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great Overthrow that her Majeſty's Army and Fleet had given them of late Years in their own Countries.

After we had taken in this Supply of Bread, with divers Baſkets of Roots, which were excellent Meat, I gave one of the *Cano's* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the *Spaniards* that were eſcaped, and when I had diſmiſſed all but the Captain (who by the *Spaniards* was chriſtened *Martin*) I ſent back in the ſame *Cano* the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando* my firſt Pilot, and gave them both ſuch Things as they deſired, with ſufficient Victual to carry them back; and by them wrote a Letter to the Ships, which they promiſed to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on, with my new hired Pilot *Martin* the *Arwacan:* But the next or ſecond Day after, we came aground again with our Galley, and were like to caſt her away, with all our Victual and Proviſion, and ſo lay on the Sand one whole Night, and were far more in Deſpair at this Time to free her than before, becauſe we had no Tide of Flood to help us; and therefore feared that all our Hopes would have ended in Miſhaps: But we faſtened an Anchor upon the Land, and with main Strength drew her off:

And ſo the 15th Day we diſcovered afar off the Mountains of *Guiana*, to our great Joy, and towards the Evening had a Slant of a northerly Wind that blew very ſtrong, which brought us in ſight of the great River of *Oroonoko*, out of which the River deſcended wherein we were: We deſcried afar off three other *Cano's* as far as we could diſcern them, after whom we haſtened with our Barge and Wherries; but two of them paſſed out of Sight, and the third entered up the great River, on the right Hand to the Weſtward, and there ſtayed out of Sight, thinking that we meant to take the Way Eaſtward towards the Province of *Carapana*, for that Way the *Spaniards* keep, not daring to go upwards to *Guiana*, the People in thoſe Parts being all their Enemies, and thoſe in the *Cano*'s thought us to have been thoſe *Spaniards* that were fled from *Trinedado*, and had eſcaped killing: And when we came ſo far down as the opening of that Branch into which they ſlipped, being near them with our Barge and Wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within Call, and by our Interpreter told them what we were; wherewith they came back willingly aboard us: And of ſuch Fiſh and Tortoiſes Eggs as they had gathered, they gave us, and promiſed in the Morning to bring the Lord of that Part with them, and to do us all other Services they could.

That Night we came to an Anchor at the parting of three goodly Rivers (the one was the River of *Amana*, by which we came from the North, and ran athwart towards the South, the other two were of *Oroonoko* which croſſed from the Weſt and ran to Sea towards the Eaſt) and landed upon a fair Sand, where we found thouſands of Tortoiſes Eggs, which are very wholeſome Meat, and greatly reſtoring; ſo as our Men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the Fare, and Nearneſs of the Land of *Guiana*, which appeared in Sight. In the Morning there came down, according to Promiſe, the Lord of that Border called *Topari-*

Toparimaca, with ſome thirty or forty Followers, and brought us divers Sorts of Fruits, and of his Wine, Bread, Fiſh, and Fleſh, whom we alſo feaſted as we could, at leaſt he drank good *Spaniſh* Wine (whereof we had a ſmall Quantity in Bottles) which above all Things they love. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next Way to *Guiana*, who conducted our Galley and Boats to his own Port, and carried us from thence ſome Mile and half to his Town, where ſome of our Captains carouſed of his Wine till they were reaſonable pleaſant; for it is very ſtrong with Pepper, and the Juice of divers Herbs, and Fruits digeſted and purged; they keep it in great earthen Pots of ten or twelve Gallons, very clean and ſweet, and are themſelves at their Meetings and Feaſts the greateſt Carouſers and Drunkards of the World: When we came to this Town we found two *Caſſiques*, whereof one of them was a Stranger that had been up the River in Trade, and his Boats, People, and Wife encamped at the Port where we anchored, and the other was of that Country, a Follower of *Toparimaca:* They lay each of them in a Cotton Hammock, which we call Braſil Beds, and two Women attending them with ſix Cups and a little Ladle to fill them, out of an earthen Pitcher of Wine, and ſo they drank each of them three of thoſe Cups at a Time, one to the other; and in this Sort they drink drunk at their Feaſts and Meetings.

That *Caſſique* that was a Stranger had his Wife ſtaying at the Port where we anchored, and in all my Life I have ſeldom ſeen a better favoured Woman: She was of good Stature, with black Eyes, fat of Body, of an excellent Countenance, her Hair almoſt as long as herſelf, tied up again in pretty Knots, and it ſeemed ſhe ſtood not in that Awe of her Husband as the reſt; for ſhe ſpake and diſcours'd, and drank among the Gentlemen and Captains, and was very pleaſant, knowing her own Comelineſs, and taking great Pride there-

in. I have ſeen a Lady in *England* ſo like her, as but for the Difference of Colour I would have ſworn might have been the ſame.

The Seat of this Town of *Toparimaca* was very pleaſant, ſtanding on a little Hill, in an excellent Proſpect, with goodly Gardens, a Mile compaſs round about it, and two very fair and large Ponds of excellent Fiſh adjoining. This Town is called *Arowocai:* The People are of the Nation called *Nepoios*, and are Followers of *Carapana*. In that Place I ſaw very aged People, that we might perceive all their Sinews and Veins without any Fleſh, and but even as a Caſe covered only with Skin. The Lord of this Place gave me an old Man for Pilot, who was of great Experience and Travel, and knew their River moſt perfectly both by Day and Night; and it ſhall be requiſite for any Man that paſſeth it to have ſuch a Pilot, for it is four, five, and ſix Miles over in many Places, and twenty Miles in other Places, with wonderful Eddies, and ſtrong Currents, many great Iſlands and divers Sholes, and many dangerous Rocks, and beſides upon any Increaſe of Wind ſo great a Billow, as we were ſometimes in great Peril of drowning in the Galley, for the ſmall Boats durſt not come from the Shore, but when it was very fair.

The next Day we haſted thence, and having an eaſterly Wind to help us, we ſpared our Arms from rowing: For after we entered *Oroonoko*, the River lieth for the moſt Part Eaſt and Weſt, even from the Sea unto *Quito* in *Peru*. This River is navigable with Ships little leſs than 1000 Miles, and from the Place where we entered it may be ſailed up in a ſmall Pinaces to many of the beſt Parts of *Nuevo reyno de Granado*, and of *Popayan:* And from no Place may the Cities of theſe Parts of the *Indies* be ſo eaſily taken and invaded as from hence. All that Day we ſailed up a Branch of that River, having on the left Hand a great Iſland, which they call *Aſſapana*, which may contain ſome five

five and twenty Miles in Length, and ſix Miles in Breadth, the great Body of the River running on the other Side of this Iſland: Beyond that middle Branch there is alſo another Iſland in the River, called *Iwana*, which is twice as big as the Iſle of *Wight*; and beyond it, and between it and the Main of *Guiana*, runneth a third Branch of *Oroonoko* called *Arraroopana:* All three are goodly Branches, and all navigable for great Ships. I judge the River in this Place to be at leaſt thirty Miles broad, reckoning the Iſlands which divide the Branches in it; for afterwards I ſought alſo both the other Branches.

After we reached to the Head of this Iſland, called *Aſſapana*, a little to the Weſtward on the right Hand there opened a River which came from the North, called *Europa*, and fell into the great River; and beyond it, on the ſame Side, we anchored for that Night, by another Iſland ſix Miles long, and two Miles broad, which they call *Ocawita:* From hence in the Morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the Town of *Toparimaca*, that came with us, who went to give Notice of our coming to the Lord of that Country, called *Putyma*, a Follower of *Topiawari*, chief Lord of *Arromaia*, who ſucceeded *Morequito*, whom (as you have heard before) *Berreo* put to Death; but his Town being far within the Land, he came not unto us that Day, ſo as we anchored again that Night near the Banks of another Iſland, of Bigneſs much like the other, which they call *Putapeyma*, on the main Land, over-againſt which Iſland was a very high Mountain called *Oecope*: We coveted to anchor rather by theſe Iſlands in the River, than by the Main, becauſe of the Tortoiſes Eggs, which our People found on them in great Abundance, and alſo becauſe the Ground ſerved better for us to caſt our Nets for Fiſh, the main Banks being for the moſt Part ſtony and high, and the Rocks of a blew metalline Colour, like unto the beſt Steel Ore, which I aſſuredly take it to be: Of the ſame

blue Stone are alſo divers great Mountains, which border this River in many Places.

The next Morning towards Nine of the Clock, we weighed Anchor, and the Breeze increaſing, we ſailed always Weſt up the River, and after a while opening the Land on the right Side, the Country appeared to be champain, and the Banks ſhewed very perfect red: I therefore ſent two of the little Barges with Captain *Gifford*, and with him Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Calfield*, my Couſin *Greenvile*, my Nephew *Jo. Gilbert*, Captain *Eynus*, Maſter *Edw. Porter*, and my Couſin *Butſhead Gorges*, with ſome few Soldiers, to march over the Banks of that red Land, and to diſcover what manner of Country it was on the other Side; who at their Return found it all a plain Level, as far as they went, or could diſcern, from the higheſt Tree they could get upon: And my old Pilot, a Man of great Travel, Brother to the *Caſſique Toparimaca* told me, that thoſe were called the Plains of the *Sayma*; and that the ſame Level reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the *Weſt-Indies*, which are 120 Leagues to the North, and that there inhabited four principal Nations. The firſt were the *Sayma*, the next *Aſſawai*, the third and greateſt the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was overthrown, as he paſſed with three hundred Horſe from *Cumana* towards *Oroonoko*, in his Enterprize of *Guiana*; the fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as black as Negros, but have ſmooth Hair, and theſe are very valiant, or rather deſperate People, and have the moſt ſtrong Poiſon on their Arrows, and moſt dangerous of all Nations; of which Poiſon I will ſpeak ſomewhat, being a Digreſſion not unneceſſary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true Remedies of theſe poiſoned Arrows; for beſides the Mortality of the Wound they make, the Party ſhot indureth the moſt inſufferable Torment in the World, and abideth a moſt ugly and lamentable Death, ſometimes dying ſtark mad, ſometimes

times their Bowels breaking out of their Bellies, and are preſently diſcoloured, as black as Pitch, and ſo unſavory, as no Man can endure to cure, or to attend them: And it is more ſtrange to know, that in all this Time there was never *Spaniard*, either by Gift or Torment that could attain to the true Knowledge of the Cure, although they have martyred and put to invented Torture I know not how many of them. But every one of theſe *Indians* know it not, no not one among Thouſands, but their Southſayers and Prieſts, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the Father to the Son.

Thoſe Medicines which are vulgar, and ſerve for the ordinary Poiſon, are made of the Juice of a Root called *Tupera:* The ſame alſo quencheth marvellouſly the Heat of burning Fevers, and healeth inward Wounds, and broken Veins that bleed within the Body. But I was more beholden to the *Guianians* than any other, for *Antonio de Berreo* told me that he could never attain to the Knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the beſt Way of healing as well thereof, as of all other Poiſons. Some of the *Spaniards* have been cured in ordinary Wounds, of the common poiſoned Arrows with the Juice of Garlick: But this is a general Rule for all Men that ſhall hereafter travel the *Indies* where poiſoned Arrows are uſed, that they muſt abſtain from Drink; for if they take any Liquor into their Body, as they ſhall be marvellouſly provoked thereunto by Drought, I ſay, if they drink before the Wound be dreſſed, or ſoon upon it, there is no Way with them but preſent Death.

And ſo I will return again to our Journey, which for this third Day we finiſhed, and caſt Anchor again near the Continent, on the left Hand between two Mountains, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio:* I made no ſtay here but till Midnight, for I feared hourly leſt any Rain ſhould fall, and then it had been impoſſible to have gone any farther up, notwithſtanding

ſtanding that there is every Day a very ſtrong Breeze, and eaſterly Wind. I deferred the Search of the Country on *Guiana* ſide, till my Return down the River. The next Day we ſailed by a great Iſland, in the Middle of the River, called *Manoripano*; and as we walked a while on the Iſland, while the Galley got ahead of us, there came after us from the Main, a ſmall *Cano* with ſeven or eight *Guianians* to invite us to anchor at their Port: but I deferred it till my Return; it was that *Caſſique* to whom thoſe *Nepoios* went, which came with us from the Town of *Toparimaca:* And ſo the fifth Day we reached as high up as the Province of *Arromaia*, the Country of *Morequito* whom *Berreo* executed, and anchored to the Weſt of an Iſland called *Murrecotima*, ten Miles long and five broad: And that Night the *Caſſique Aramiari*, (to whoſe Town we made our long and hungry Voyage out of the River of *Amana)* paſſed by us.

The next Day we arrived at the Port of *Morequito*, and anchored there, ſending away one of our Pilots to ſeek the King of *Aromaia* Uncle to *Morequito*, ſlain by *Berreo* as aforeſaid. The next Day following, before Noon, he came to us on Foot from his Houſe, which was fourteen *Engliſh* Miles, (himſelf being 110 Years old) and returned on Foot the ſame Day, and with him many of the Borderers, with many Women and Children, that came to wonder at our Nation, and to bring us down Victual, which they did in great Plenty, as Veniſon, Pork, Hens, Chickens, Fowl, Fiſh, with divers Sorts of excellent Fruits, and Roots, and great Abundance of Pines, the Princeſs of Fruits, that grow under the Sun, eſpecially thoſe of *Guiana.* They brought us alſo Store of Bread, and of their Wine, and a Sort of Paraquitos, no bigger than Wrens, and of all Sorts both ſmall and great: One of them gave me a Beaſt called by the *Spaniards Armadilla*, which they call *Caſſacam*, which ſeemeth to be all barred over with ſmall Plates, ſomewhat like to a *Rhinoceros*,

noceros, with a white Horn growing in his hinder Parts, as big as a great hunting Horn, which they uſe to wind inſtead of a Trumpet. *Monardus* writeth, that a little of the Powder of that Horn put into the Ear, cureth Deafneſs.

After this old King had reſted a while in a little Tent that I cauſed to be ſet up, I began by my Interpreter to diſcourſe with him of the Death of *Morequito* his Predeceſſor, and afterward of the *Spaniards*, and ere I went any farther I made him know the Cauſe of my coming thither, whoſe Servant I was, and that the Queen's Pleaſure was, I ſhould undertake the Voyage for their Defence, and to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, dilating at large (as I had done before to thoſe of *Trinedado*) her Majeſty's Greatneſs, her Juſtice, her Charity to all oppreſſed Nations, with as many of the reſt of her Beauties and Virtues as either I could expreſs, or they conceive; all which being with great Admiration attentively heard, and marvellouſly admired, I began to ſound the old Man as touching *Guiana*, and the State thereof, what Sort of Commonealth it was, how governed, of what Strength and Policy, how far it extended, and what Nations were Friends or Enemies adjoining, and finally of the Diſtance, and Way to enter the ſame: He told me that himſelf and his People, with all thoſe down the River towards the Sea, as far as *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themſelves *Oroonokoponi*, becauſe they bordered the great River of *Oroonoko*, and that all the Nations between the River and thoſe Mountains in Sight called *Wacarima*, were of the ſame Caſt and Appellation: And that on the other ſide of thoſe Mountains of *Wacarima* there was a large Plain (which after I diſcovered in my Return) called the Valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that Valley the People were alſo of the ancient *Guianians*. I aſked what Nations thoſe were which inhabited on the further Side of thoſe Mountains, beyond the Valley of *Amariocapana*, he anſwered with a great Sigh (as a Man which had an inward Feeling of the Loſs of his Country and Liberty,

Liberty, eſpecially for that his eldeſt Son was ſlain in Battle on that Side of the Mountains, whom he moſt entirely loved,) that he remembred in his Father's Life-time when he was very old, and himſelf a young Man, that there came down into that large Valley of *Guiana*, a Nation from ſo far off as the Sun ſlept, (for ſuch were his own Words,) with ſo great a Multitude as they could not be numbered nor reſiſted; and that they wore large Coats, and Hats of crimſon Colour, which Colour he expreſſed, by ſhewing a Piece of red Wood, wherewith my Tent was ſupported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epurimei*, thoſe that had ſlain and rooted out ſo many of the ancient People as there were Leaves in the Wood upon all the Trees, and had now made themſelves Lords of all, even to that Mountain Foot called *Curaa*, ſaving only of two Nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri*, and the other *Caſſipagotos*; and that in the laſt Battle fought between the *Epuremei*, and the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldeſt Son was choſen to carry to the Aid of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a great Troop of the *Oroonokoponi*, and was there ſlain, with all his People and Friends; and that he had now remaining but one Son. And farther told me, that thoſe *Epuremei* had built a great Town called *Macureguarai*, at the ſaid Mountain Foot, at the Beginning of the great Plains of *Guiana*, which have no End: And that their Houſes have many Rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great King of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremei* kept three thouſand Men to defend the Borders againſt them, and withal daily to invade and ſlay them: But that of late Years ſince the Chriſtians offered to invade his Territories, and thoſe Frontiers, they were all at Peace, and traded one with another, ſaving only the *Iwarawaqueri*, and thoſe other Nations upon the Head of the River of *Caroli*, called *Caſſipagotos*, which we afterwards diſcovered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common Enemy.

After he had anſwered thus far, he deſired Leave to depart, ſaying that he had far to go; that he was old and

and weak, and was every Day called for by Death, which was alſo his own Phraſe: I deſired him to reſt with us that Night; but I could not intreat him; but he told me, that at my Return from the Country above, he would again come to us, and in the mean Time provide for us the beſt he could, of all that his Country yielded: The ſame Night he returned to *Orocotona* his own Town, ſo as he went that Day 28 Miles, the Weather being very hot, the Country being ſituate between 4 and 5 Degrees of the *Equinoctial*. This *Topiawari* is held for the proudeſt and wiſeſt of all the *Oroonokoponi*; and ſo he behaved himſelf towards me in all his Anſwers at my Return, as I marvelled to find a Man of that Gravity and Judgment, and of ſo good Diſcourſe, that had no Help of Learning nor Breed.

The next Morning we alſo left the Port, and ſailed Weſtward up the River, to view the famous River called *Caroli*, as well becauſe it was marvellous of itſelf, as alſo for that I underſtood it led to the ſtrongeſt Nations of all the Frontiers, that were Enemies to the *Epuromei*, which are Subjects to *Inga*, Emperor of *Guiana* and *Manoa*; and that Night we anchored at another Iſland called *Caiama*, of ſome five or ſix Miles in Length, and the next Day arrived at the Mouth of *Caroli*. When we were ſhort of it as low or further down as the Port of *Morequito*, we heard the great Roar and Fall of the River, but when we came to enter with our Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up ſome forty Miles to the Nations of the *Caſſipagotos*, we were not able with a Barge of eight Oars to row one Stone's Caſt in an Hour; and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at *Wolwich*, and we tried both Sides, and the Middle, and every Part of the River, ſo as we encamped upon the Banks adjoining, and ſent off our *Oroonokopone* (which came with us from *Morequito*) to give Knowledge to the Nations upon the River of our being there, and that we deſired to ſee the Lords of *Canuria*, which dwelt within the Province upon that River,

River, making them know that we were Enemies to the *Spaniards*, (for it was on this River's Side that *Morequito* ſlew the Friar, and thoſe nine *Spaniards* which came from *Manoa*, the City of *Inga*, and took from them 40000 Peſoes of Gold) ſo as the next Day there came down a Lord or *Caſſique* called *Wanuretona*, with many People with him, and brought all Store of Proviſions to entertain us, as the reſt had done. And as I had before made my Coming known to *Topiawari*, ſo did I acquaint this *Caſſique* therewith, and how I was ſent by her Majeſty for the Purpoſe aforeſaid, and gathered alſo what I could of him touching the Eſtate of *Guiana*: And I found that thoſe alſo of *Caroli* were not only Enemies to the *Spaniards* but moſt of all to the *Epuremei*, which abound in Gold; and by this *Wanuretona*, I had Knowledge that on the Head of this River were three mighty Nations, which were ſeated on a great Lake, from whence this River deſcended, and were called *Caſſipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*; and that all thoſe either againſt the *Spaniards*, or the *Epuremei* would join with us; and that if we entered the Land over the Mountains of *Curaa*, we ſhould ſatisfy ourſelves with Gold and all other good Things: He told us farther of a Nation called *Iwarawaqueri* before ſpoken off, that held daily War with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai*, the firſt civil Town of *Guiana*, of the Subjects of *Inga* the Emperor.

Upon this River one Captain *George*, that I took with *Berreo*, told me there was a great ſilver Mine, and that it was near the Banks of the ſaid River. But by this Time as well *Oroonoko*, *Caroli*, as all the reſt of the Rivers were riſen four or five Feet in Height, ſo as it was not poſſible, by the Strength of any Men, or with any Boat whatſoever, to row into the River againſt the Stream. I therefore ſent Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Greenville*, my Nephew *John Gylbert*, my Couſin *Butſhead Gorges*, Captain *Clarke*, and ſome thirty Shot more, to coaſt the River by Land, and to go to a Town ſome

ſome twenty Miles over the Valley called *Amnatapoi*; and if they found Guides there, to go farther towards the Mountain Foot to another great Town, called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *Caſſique* called *Haaracoa* (that was a Nephew to old *Topiawari* King of *Arromaia*, our chiefeſt Friend) becauſe this Town and Province of *Capurepana* adjoined to *Macureguarai*, which was the frontier Town of the Empire: And the mean while myſelf with Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfield*, *Edw. Hancock*, and ſome half a dozen Shot marched over Land to view the ſtrange Overfalls of the River of *Caroli*, which roared ſo far of, and alſo to ſee the Plains adjoining, and the reſt of the Province of *Canuri*: I ſent alſo Captain *Whiddon*, *W. Connoke*, and ſome eight Shot with them, to ſee if they could find any mineral Stone along the River's Side. When we run to the Tops of the firſt Hils of the Plain adjoining to the River, we beheld that wonderful Breach of Waters, which ran down *Caroli*: And might from that Mountain ſee the River how it ran in three Parts, above twenty Miles of, and there appeared ſome ten or twelve Overfalls in Sight, every one as high over the other as a Church Tower, which fell with that Fury, that the Rebound of Waters made it ſeem, as if it had been all covered over with a great Shower of Rain: And in ſome Places we took it at the firſt for a Smoak that had riſen over ſome great Town. For my own Part, I was well perſuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill Footman; but the reſt were all ſo deſirous to go near the ſtrange Thunder of Waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next Valley, where we might better diſcern the ſame. I never ſaw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Proſpects, Hills ſo raiſed here and there over the Vallies, the River winding into divers Branches, the Plains adjoining without Buſh or Stubble, all fair green Graſs, the Ground of hard Sand eaſy to march on, either for Horſe or Foot, the Deer croſſing in

in every Path, the Birds towards the Evening ſinging on every Tree with a thouſand ſeveral Tunes, Cranes and Herons of White, Crimſon, and Carnation perching on the River's Side, the Air freſh with a gentle eaſterly Wind, and every Stone that we ſtooped to take up, promiſed either Gold or Silver by his Complexion. Your Lordſhip ſhall ſee of many Sorts, and I hope ſome of them cannot be bettered under the Sun; and yet we had no Means but with our Daggers and Fingers to tear them out here and there, the Rocks being moſt hard of that mineral Spar aforeſaid, and is like a Flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and beſides the Veins lie a Fathom or two deep in the Rocks. But we wanted all things requiſite ſave only our Deſires, and good Will to have performed more, if it had pleaſed God. To be ſhort, when both our Companies returned, each of them brought alſo ſeveral Sorts of Stones that appeared very fair, but were ſuch as they found looſe on the Ground, and were for the moſt Part but coloured, and had not any Gold fixed in them; yet ſuch as had no Judgment or Experience kept all that glittered, and would not be perſuaded but it was rich, becauſe of the Luſtre, and brought of thoſe, and of *Marqueſite* withal, from *Trinedado*, and have delivered of thoſe Stones to be tried in many Places, and have thereby bred an Opinion that all the reſt is of the ſame: Yet ſome of theſe Stones I ſhewed afterward to a *Spaniard* of the *Caraccas*, who told me that it was *El Madre deloro*, and that the Mine was farther in the Ground. But it ſhall be found a weak Policy in me, either to betray myſelf, or my Country with Imaginations, neither am I ſo far in Love with that Lodging, Watching, Care, Peril, Diſeaſes, ill Savours, bad Fare, and many other Miſchiefs that accompany theſe Voyages, as to woo my ſelf again into any of them, were I not aſſured that the Sun covereth not ſo much Riches in any Part of the Earth. Captain *Whiddon*, and our Surgeon *Nich. Millechap* brought me a Kind of Stones like

Saphires,

aphires: What they may prove I know not; I ſhewed hem to ſome of the *Oroonokoponi*, and they promiſed o bring me to a Mountain, that had of them very large ieces growing Diamond wiſe: Whether it be Cryſtal f the Mountain, *Briſtol* Diamond, or *Saphire*, I do ot yet know; but I hope the beſt; ſure I am, that he Place is as likely as thoſe from whence all the ich Stones are brought, and in the ſame Height, or ery near. On the left Hand of this River *Caroli* are eated thoſe Nations which are called *Iwarawakeri*, be- ore remembred, which are Enemies to the *Epuremei*: And on the Head of it, adjoining to the great Lake *Caſſipa*, are ſituate thoſe other Nations which alſo reſiſt *nga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Caſſepagotos*, *Epare- otos*, and *Arrawagotos*. I farther underſtood that this Lake of *Caſſipa* is ſo large, as it is above one Day's Jour- ney for one of their *Cano's* to croſs, which may be ome 40 Miles; and that therein fall divers Rivers; and hat great ſtore of Grains of Gold are found in the ummer Time, when the Lake falleth by the Banks, in hoſe Branches. There is alſo another goodly River eyond *Caroli*, which is called *Arvi*, which alſo runneth hrough the Lake *Caſſipa*, and falleth into *Oroonoko* arther Weſt, making all that Land between *Caroli* nd *Arvi* an Iſland, which is likewiſe a moſt beau- iful Country. Next unto *Arvi* there are two Rivers *Atoica* and *Caora*, and on that Branch which is called *Caora* are a Nation of People, whoſe Heads appear ot above their Shoulders; which, though it may be hought a meer Fable, yet for mine own Part I am reſolved it is true, becauſe every Child in the Pro- vinces of *Arromaia* and *Canuri* affirm the ſame! They are called *Ewaipanoma*: They are reported to have their Eyes in their Shoulders, and their Mouths in the middle of their Breaſts, and that a long train of Hair groweth backward between their Shoulders. The Son of *Topiarwarri*, which I brought with me into *Eng- land*, told me, that they are the moſt mighty Men of

all the Land, and uſe Bows, Arrows, and Clubs thrice as big as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Oroonokoponi*, and that one of the *Iwarawakeri* took a Priſoner of them the Year before our Arrival there, and brought him into the Borders of *Arromaia*, his Father's Country: And farther, when I ſeemed to doubt of it, he told me, that it was no Wonder among them; but that they were as great a Nation, and as common, as any other in all the Provinces, and had of late Years ſlain many Hundreds of his Father's People, and of other Nations their Neighbours. But it was not my Chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but ſpoken one Word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me, to put the Matter out of Doubt. Such a Nation was written of by *Maundeville*, whoſe Reports were held for Fables many Years; and yet ſince the Eaſt *Indies* were diſcovered, we find his Relations true of ſuch Things as heretofore were held incredible: Whether it be true or no, the Matter is not great, neither can there be any Profit in the Imagination; for mine own Part I ſaw them not, but I am reſolved, that ſo many People did not all combine, or forethink, to make the Report.

When I came to *Cumana*, in the Weſt *Indies*, afterwards, by Chance I ſpoke with a *Spaniard* dwelling not far from thence, a Man of great Travel; and after he knew that I had been in *Guiana*, and ſo far directly Weſt as *Caroli*, the firſt Queſtion he aſked me was, whether I had ſeen any of the *Ewaipanona*, which are thoſe without Heads: Who being eſteemed a moſt honeſt Man of his Word, and in all things elſe, told me, that he had ſeen many of them: I may not name him, becauſe it may be for his Diſadvantage; but he is well known to Monſieur *Mucheron's* Sons of *London*, and to *Peter Mucheron* Merchant, of the *Flemiſh* Ship that was there in Trade, who alſo heard what he avowed to be true of thoſe People. The fourth River to the Weſt of *Caroli* is *Caſnero*, which falleth into *Oroonoko* on this

this Side of *Amapia*; and that River is greater than *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riſeth on the South of *Guiana* from the Mountains which divide *Guiana* from *Amazones*; and I think it to be navigable many hundred Miles: But we had no Time, Means, nor Seaſon of the Year, to ſearch thoſe Rivers for the Cauſes aforeſaid, the Winter being come upon us, although the Winter and Summer, as touching Cold and Heat differ not, neither do the Trees ever ſenſibly looſe their Leaves, but have always Fruit either ripe or green, and moſt of them both Bloſſoms, Leaves, ripe Fruit, and green, at one Time: but their Winter only conſiſteth of terrible Rains, and Overflowings of the Rivers, with many great Storms and Guſts, Thunder, and Lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the North Side, the firſt River that falleth into *Oroonoko* is *Cari*; beyond it on the ſame Side is the River of *Limo*: between theſe two is a great Nation of *Canibals*, and their chief Town beareth the Name of the River, and is called *Acamacari*: As this Town is a continual Market of Women for 3 or 4 Hatchets a piece, they are bought by the *Arwacas*, and by them ſold into the Weſt-*Indies*. To the Weſt of *Limo* is the River *Pao*, beyond it *Caturi*, beyond that *Voari*, and *Capuri*, which falleth out of the great River of *Meta*; by which *Berreo* deſcended from *Nuevo reyno de Granada*. To the Weſtward of *Capuri* is the Province of *Amapaia*, where *Berreo* wintered, and had ſo many of his People poiſoned with the tawny Water of the Marſhes of the *Anebas*. Above *Amapaia*, toward *Nuevo reyno* fall in *Meta*, *Pato*, and *Caſſanar*: To the Weſt of theſe, towards the Provinces of the *Aſſhaguas* and *Catetios*, are the Rivers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Ubarrow*; and towards the Frontier of *Peru* are the Provinces of *Thomebamba*, and *Caximalta*: adjoining to *Quito*, in the North of *Peru*, are the Rivers of *Guiacar* and *Geavar*: And on the other Side of the ſaid Mountains the River of *Papamene*, which deſcendeth into *Maragnon*, or *Amazones*,

zones, paſſing through the Province of the *Mutylones*, where *Don Pedro de Oſua*, who was ſlain by the Traitor *Agiri*, before rehearſed, built his Brigantines, when he ſought *Guiana* by the Way of *Amazones*. Between *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous Iſland, in *Oroonoko*, now called *Baraquan*, (for above *Meta* it is not known by the Name of *Oroonoko*) which is called *Athule*; beyond which Ships of Burden cannot paſs by Reaſon of a moſt forcible Overfall, and Current of Waters: But in the Eddy all ſmaller Veſſels may be drawn, even to *Peru* itſelf: But to ſpeak of more of theſe Rivers without the Deſcription, were but tedious; and therefore I will leave the reſt to the Deſcription. This River of *Oroonoko* is navigable for Ships little leſs than 1000 Miles, and for leſſer Veſſels near 2000. By it (as aforeſaid) *Peru*, *Nuevo reyno*, and *Popaian*, may be invaded: It alſo leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the Provinces of *Amapia*, and *Anebas*, which abound in Gold: His Branches of *Coſnero*, *Manta*, *Caora* deſcend from the Middle-Land and Valley, which lieth between the Eaſtern Province of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falls into the Sea between *Maragnon* and *Trinedado*, in two Degrees and a half: All which your Honours ſhall better perceive in the general Deſcription of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nuevo reyno*, the Kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Roidas*, with the Province of *Venſuello*, to the Bay of *Uraba*, behind *Cartagena*, Weſtward; and to *Amazones* Southward. While we lay at Anchor on the Coaſt of *Canurt*, and had taken Knowledge of all the Nations upon the Head and Branches of this River, and had found out ſo many ſeveral People, which were Enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the new Conquerors; I thought it Time loſt to linger any longer in that Place, eſpecially for that the Fury of *Oroonoko* began daily to threaten us with Dangers in our Return; for no half Day paſſed, but the River began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the Rains came down in terrible Showers, and Guſts in great Abundance: And withall,

withall, our Men began to cry out for Want of Shift; for no Man had Place to beſtow any other Apparel than that which he wore on his Back, and that was thoroughly waſhed on his Body, for the moſt Part ten Times in one Day: And we had now been well near a Month, every Day paſſing to the Weſtward, farther and farther from our Ships. We therefore turned towards the Eaſt, and ſpent the reſt of the Time in diſcovering the River towards the Sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was moſt material. The next Day following we left the Mouth of *Caroli*, and arrived again at the Port of *Morequito*, where we were before (for paſſing down the Stream we went without Labour, and againſt the Wind, little leſs than 100 Miles a Day:) As ſoon as I came to Anchor, I ſent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whom I much deſired to have farther Conference; and alſo to deal with him for ſome one of his Country, to bring with us into *England*, as well to learn the Language, as to confer withall by the way, (the time being now ſpent of any longer Stay there) within three Hours after my Meſſenger came to him, he arrived alſo, and with him ſuch a Rabble of all Sorts of People, and every one laden with ſomewhat, as if it had been a great Market or Fair in *England:* And our hungry Companies cluſtered thick and threefold among their Baſkets, every one laying Hand on what he liked. After he had reſted a while in my Tent, I ſhut out all but ourſelves, and my Interpreter; and told him, that I knew that both the *Eupremei* and the *Spaniards* were Enemies to him, his Country, and Nations: That the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and that the other ſought to regain the ſame from them both: And therefore I deſired him to inſtruct me what he could, both of the Paſſage into the golden Parts of *Guiana*, and to the civil Towns and apparelled People of *Inga*. He gave me an Anſwer to this Effect: Firſt, that he did not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the City of *Manoa*; for

neither the Time of the Year ſerved, neither could he perceive any ſufficient Numbers for ſuch an Enterprize: And if I did, I was ſure with all my Company to be buried there; for that the Emperor was of that Strength, as that many times ſo many Men more were too few: Beſides, he gave me this good Counſel, and adviſed me to hold it in Mind (as for himſelf he knew, he could not live till my return) that I ſhould not offer by any Means hereafter to invade the ſtrong Parts of *Guiana*, without the Help of all thoſe Nations which were alſo their Enemies: For that it was impoſſible without thoſe, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us, our People not being able to indure the March in ſo great Heat, and Travel, unleſs the Borderers gave them Help, to carry with them both their Meat and Furniture: For he remembred, that in the Plains of *Macuregurai* 300 *Spaniards* were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the Borderers to their Friends; but meeting their Enemies, as they paſſed the Frontier, were invironed on all Sides, and the People ſetting the long dry Graſs on Fire, ſmothered them ſo as they had no Breath to fight, nor could diſcern their Enemies, for the great Smoak. He told me farther, that four Days Journey from his own Town was *Macureguarai*, and that thoſe were the next, and neareſt of the Subjects of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the firſt Town of apparrelled and rich People; and that all thoſe Plates of Gold which were ſcattered among the Borderers, and carried to other Nations far and near, came from the ſaid *Macureguarai*, and were there made; but that thoſe of the Land within, were far finer, and were faſhioned after the Image of Men, Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes. I aſked him whether he thought that thoſe Companies that I had there with me, were ſufficient to take that Town or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then aſked him, whether he would aſſiſt me with Guides, and ſome Companies of his People to join with us? He anſwered, that he would go himſelf with all the Borderers, if the Rivers did remain

remain fordable; upon this Condition, that I would leave with him till my Return again fifty Soldiers, which he undertook to victual: I anſwered, that I had not above fifty good Men in all there, the reſt were Labourers and Rowers; and that I had no Proviſion to leave with them of Powder, Shot, Apparel, or ought elſe; and that without thoſe Things neceſſary for their Defence, they ſhould be in Danger of the *Spaniards*, in my Abſence, who I knew would uſe the ſame Meaſure towards mine, that I offered them at *Trinedado*: And although, upon the Motion, Captain *Calfeilde*, Captain *Greenville*, my Nephew *John Gilbert*, and divers others were deſirous to ſtay, yet I was reſolved that they muſt needs have periſhed; for *Berreo* expected daily a Supply out of *Spain*, and looked alſo hourly for his Son to come down from *Nuevo reyno de Granada*, with many Horſe and Foot; and had alſo in *Valentia* in the *Caraccas*, 200 Horſe ready to march; and I could not have ſpared above forty, and had not any Store at all of Powder, Lead, or Match to have left with them, nor any other Proviſion, either Spade, Pickax, or ought elſe to have fortified withal. When I had given him Reaſon that I could not at this Time leave him ſuch a Company, he then deſired me to forbear him; and his Country for that Time; for he aſſured me that I ſhould be no ſooner three Days from the Coaſt, but thoſe *Epuremei* would invade him, and deſtroy all the Remains of his People and Friends, if he ſhould any Way either guide us, or aſſiſt us againſt them. He further alledged, that the *Spaniards* ſought his Death, and as they had already murdered his Nephew *Morequito*, Lord of that Province, ſo they had him ſeventeen Days in a Chain before he was King of the Country, and led him like a Dog from Place to Place, until he had paid 100 Plates of Gold, and divers Chains of ſpleen Stones for his Ranſom; and now ſince he became Owner of that Province that they had many Times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they ſhould un-

derſtand of his Conference with the *Engliſh*; and becauſe, ſaid he, they would the better diſplant me, if they cannot lay Hands on me, they have gotten a Nephew of mine, called *Eparacano*, whom they have chriſtened Don *Ivan*, and his Son Don *Pedro*, whom they have alſo apparrelled and armed, by whom they ſeek to make a Party againſt me, in mine own Country; He alſo hath taken to Wife one *Loviana*, of a ſtrong Family, which are my Borderers and Neighbours: And myſelf being now old, and in the Hands of Death, am not able to travel nor to ſhift, as when I was of younger Years: He therefore prayed us to defer it till the next Year, when he would undertake to draw in all the Borderers to ſerve us, and then alſo it would be more ſeaſonable to travel; for at this Time of the Year, we ſhould not be able to paſs any River, the Waters were and would be ſo grown ere our Return. He farther told me, that I could not deſire ſo much to invade *Macureguari*, and the reſt of *Guiana*, but that the Borderers would be more vehement than I; for he yielded for a chief Cauſe, that in the Wars with the *Epuremei*, they were ſpoiled of their Women, and that their Wives and Daughters were taken from them; ſo as for their own Parts they deſired nothing of the Gold or Treaſure for their Labors, but only to recover Women from the *Epuremei:* For he farther complained very ſadly (as if it had been a Matter of great Conſequence) that whereas they were wont to have ten or twelve Wives, they were now inforced to content themſelves with three or four, and that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50 or 100. And in Truth they were more for Women, then either for Gold or Dominion. For the Lords of Countries deſire many Children of their own Bodies, to increaſe their Races and Kindreds, for in thoſe conſiſt their greateſt Truſt and Strength. Divers of his Followers afterwards deſired me to make haſte again, that they might ſack the *Epuremei*; and I aſked them of what? They anſwered, of their Women for us, and their Gold for you: For

the

the Hope of many of thoſe Women they more deſire the War, than either for Gold, or for the Recovery of their ancient Territories. For what between the Subjects of *Inga*, and the *Spaniards*, thoſe Frontiers are grown thin of People, and alſo great Numbers are fled to other Nations farther off, for Fear of the *Spaniards*. After I received this Anſwer of the old Man, we fell into Conſideration, whether it had been of better Advice to have entered *Macureguarai*, and to have begun a War upon *Inga* at this Time, yea or no, if the Time of the Year, and all Things elſe had ſorted. For mine own Part (as we were not able to march it for the Rivers, neither had any ſuch Strength as was requiſite, and durſt not abide the coming of the Winter, or to tarry any longer from our Ships) I thought it very evil Counſel to have attempted it at that Time, although the Deſire of Gold will anſwer many Objections: But it would have been in my Opinion an utter Overthrow to the Enterprize, if the ſame ſhould be hereafter by her Majeſty attempted: For then (whereas now they have heard we were Enemies to the *Spaniards* and were ſent by her Majeſty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the *Spaniards* at our Return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one Errand; and that both ſought but to ſack and ſpoil them: But as yet our Deſire of Gold, or our Purpoſe of Invaſion, is not known unto thoſe of the Empire: And it is likely that if her Majeſty undertake the Enterprize, they will rather ſubmit themſelves to her Obedience, than to the *Spaniards*, of whoſe Cruelty both themſelves and the Borderers have already taſted: And therefore till I had known her Majeſty's Pleaſure, I would rather have loſt the Sack of one or two Towns (although they might have been very profitable) than to have defaced or endangered the future Hope of ſo many Millions; and the great, good, and rich Trade which *England* may be poſſeſſed off thereby. I am aſſured now, that they

they will all die, even to the laſt Man, againſt the *Spaniards*, in Hope of our Succor and Return: Whereas otherwiſe, if I had either laid Hands on the Borderers, or ranſomed the Lords as *Berreo* did, or invaded the Subjects of *Inga*; I know all had been loſt for hereafter. After that I had reſolved *Topiawari* Lord of *Aromia*, that I could not at this Time leave with him the Companies he deſired, and that I was contented to forbear the Enterprize againſt the *Epuremei* till the next Year, he freely gave me his only Son to take with me into *England*; and hoped, that though he himſelf had but a ſhort Time to live, yet that by our Means his Son ſhould be eſtabliſhed after his Death: And I left with him one *Francis Sparrow*, a Servant of Captain *Gifford*, (who was deſirous to tarry, and could deſcribe a Country with his Pen) and a Boy of mine, called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learn the Language. I after aſked the Manner how the *Epuremei* wrought thoſe Plates of Gold, and how they could melt it out of the Stone; he told me that the moſt of the Gold which they made in Plates and Images was not ſevered from the Stone; but that on the Lake of *Manoa*, and in a Multitude of other Rivers, they gathered it in Grains of perfect Gold, and in Pieces as big as ſmall Stones; and that they put to it a Part of Copper, otherwiſe they could not work it, and that they uſed a great earthen Pot, with Holes round about it; and when they had mingled the Gold and Copper together, they faſtened Canes to the Holes, and ſo with the Breath of Men they increaſed the Fire till the Mettle ran; and then they caſt it into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and ſo make thoſe Plates and Images. I have ſent your Honours, of two Sorts ſuch as I could by chance recover, more to ſhew the Manner of them, than for the Value: For I did not in any Sort make my Deſire of Gold known, becauſe I had neither Time, nor Power to have a greater Quantity. I gave among them many more Pieces of Gold than I received, of the new

Money

Money of twenty Shillings, with her Majeſty's Picture, to wear, with Promiſe that they would become her Servants thenceforth.

I have alſo ſent your Honours of the Ore, whereof I know ſome is as rich as the Earth yieldeth any; of which I know there is ſufficient, if nothing elſe were to be hoped for. But beſides that we were not able to tarry and ſearch the Hills, ſo we had neither Pioneers, Bars, Sledges, nor Wedges of Iron, to break the Ground, without which there is no working in Mines: But we ſaw all the Hills with Stones of the Colour of Gold and Silver, and we tried them to be no *Marqueſite*; and therefore ſuch as the *Spaniards* call *El Madre del oro*, which is an undoubted Aſſurance of the general Abundance; and myſelf ſaw the Outſide of many Mines of the white Spar, which I know to be the ſame that all covet in this World, and of thoſe more than I will ſpeak of.

Having learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and received a faithful Promiſe of the principaleſt of thoſe Provinces to become Servants to her Majeſty, and to reſiſt the *Spaniards*, if they made any Attempt in our Abſence, and that they would draw in the Nations about the Lake of *Caſſipa*, and thoſe *Iwarawakeri*; I then parted from old *Topiawari*, and received his Son for a Pledge between us, and left with him two of ours, as aforeſaid: To *Francis Sparrow* I gave Inſtructions to travel to *Macuregnorai*, with ſuch Merchandizes as I left with him, thereby to learn the Place, and if it were poſſible to go on, to the great City of *Manoa:* Which being done, we weighed Anchor, and coaſted the River on *Guiana* Side, becauſe we came up on the North Side, by the Lawns of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with us from *Aromaia*, a *Caſſique* called *Putyma*, that commanded the Province of *Warapana*, (which *Putyma* ſlew the nine *Spaniards* upon *Caroli* before ſpoken of) who deſired us to reſt at the Port of his Country, promiſing to bring us to a Moun-

tain

tain adjoining to his Town, that had Stones of the Colour of Gold; which he performed: And after we had reſted there one Night, I went myſelf in the Morning, with moſt of the Gentlemen of my Company, over Land, towards the ſaid Mountain, marching by a River's Side called *Mano*, leaving on the right Hand a Town called *Tuteritona*, ſtanding in the Province of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principal: Beyond it lieth another Town, towards the South, in the Valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the Name of the ſaid Valley, whoſe Plains ſtretch themſelves ſome ſixty Miles in Length, Eaſt and Weſt, as fair Ground, and as beautiful Fields, as any Man hath ever ſeen, with divers Copſes ſcattered here and there by the River's Side, and all as full of Deer as any Foreſt or Park in *England*; and in every Lake and River the like Abundance of Fiſh and Fowl, of which *Icraparragota* is Lord.

From the River of *Mana* we croſs'd another River, in the ſaid beautiful Valley, called *Oiana*, and reſted ourſelves by a clear Lake, which lay in the Middle of the ſaid *Oiana*; and one of our Guides kindling us Fire with two Sticks, we ſtaid a while to dry our Shirts, which with the Heat hung very wet and heavy on our Shoulders. Afterwards we ſought the Ford to paſs over towards the Mountain called *Iconuri*, where *Putyma* foretold us of the Mine. In this Lake we ſaw one of the great Fiſhes, as big as a Wine-Pipe, which they call *Manati*, and is moſt excellent and wholſome Meat. But after I perceived, that to paſs the ſaid River would require half a Day's March more, I was not able myſelf to indure it; and therefore I ſent Captain *Keymis*, with ſix Shot, to go on, and gave him Order not to return to the Port of *Putyma*, which is called *Chiparepare*; but to take leiſure, and to march down the ſaid Valley, as far as a River called *Cumaca*, where I promiſed to meet him again, (*Putyma* himſelf promiſing alſo to be his Guide,) and as they marched, they left the Towns of *Emparepana*, and *Copurepana*, on the right

right Hand, and marched from *Putyma*'s Houſe, down the ſaid Valley of *Amariocopana*; and we returning the ſame Day to the River's Side, ſaw by the Way many Rocks, like unto Gold Ore, and on the left Hand, a round Mountain, which conſiſted of mineral Stone.

From hence we rowed down the Sream, coaſting the Province of *Parino:* As for the Branches of Rivers, which I overpaſs in this Diſcourſe, thoſe ſhall be better expreſſed in the Deſcription, with the Mountains of *Aio*, *Ara*, and the reſt, which are ſituate in the Provinces of *Parino* and *Carricurina*. When we were come as far down as the Land called *Arriacora*, (where *Oroonoko* divideth itſelf into three great Branches, each of them being moſt goodly Rivers,) I ſent away Captain *Henry Thyn*, and Captain *Greenville* with the Galley, the neareſt Way, and took with me Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfeild*, *Edward Porter*, and Captain *Eynos*, with mine own Barg, and the two Wherries, and went down that Branch of *Oroonoko*, which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, and towards the Eaſt Sea, as well to find out Captain *Keymis*, whom I had ſent over Land, as alſo to acquaint myſelf with *Carapana*, who is one o the greateſt of all the Lords of the *Orconokoponi:* And when we came to the River of *Cumaca* (to which *Putyma* promiſed to conduct Captain *Keymis*) I left Captain *Eynos* and Maſter *Porter*, in the ſaid River, to expect his coming, and the reſt of us rowed down the Stream towards *Emeria*.

In this Branch, called *Cararoopana*, were alſo many goodly Iſlands, ſome of ſix Miles long, ſome of ten, and ſome of twenty. When it grew towards Sun ſet, we entered a Branch of a River that fell into *Oroonoko*, called *Winicapora*, where I was informed of the Mountain of Cryſtal; to which, in Truth, for the Length of the Way, and the evil Seaſon of the Year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the Journey: We ſaw it far off and it appeared like a white Church Tower,

Tower, of an exceeding Height: There falleth over it a mighty River, which toucheth no part of the Side of the Mountain, but ruſheth over the Top of it, and falleth to the Ground, with a terrible Noiſe and Clamour as if a thouſad great Bells were knocked one againſt another. I think there is not in the World ſo ſtrange an Overfall, nor ſo wonderful to behold: *Berreo* told me, that it hath Diamonds and other precious Stones on it, and that they ſhined very far off: But what it hath I know not, neither durſt he or any of his Men aſcend to the Top of the ſaid Mountain, thoſe People adjoining being his Enemies (as they were) and the Way to it ſo impaſſable.

Upon this River of *Winecapora* we reſted a while, and from thence marched into the Country to a Town called after the Name of the River, whereof the chief was one *Timitwara*, who alſo offered to conduct me to the Top of the ſaid Mountain, called *Wacarima*: But when we came in firſt to the Houſe of the ſaid *Timitwara*, being upon one of their Feaſt-Days, we found them all as drunk as Beggars, and the Pots walking from one to another, without reſt: We that were weary, and hot with marching, were glad of the Plenty, though a ſmall Quantity ſatisfied us, their Drink being very ſtrong and heady, and ſo reſted ourſelves a while; after we had fed, we drew ourſelves back to our Boats, upon the River; and there came to us all the Lords of the Country, with all ſuch kind of Victual as the Place yielded, and with their delicate Wine of *Pinas*, and with abundance of Hens, and other Proviſions, and of thoſe Stones which we call Spleen-ſtones. We underſtood by theſe Chieftains of *Winicapora*, that their Lord *Carapana* was departed from *Emeria* which was now in Sight, and that he was fled to *Cairamo*, adjoining to the Mountains of *Guiana*, over the Valley called *Amariocopana*; being perſuaded by thoſe ten *Spaniards* which lay at his

his Houſe, that we would deſtroy him and his Country.

But after theſe *Caſſiqui* of *Winicapora* and *Saporatona*, his Followers, perceived our Purpoſe, and ſaw that we came as Enemies to the *Spaniards* only, and had not ſo much as harmed any of thoſe Nations, no though we found them to be of the *Spaniards* own Servants, they aſſured us that *Carapana* would be as ready to ſerve us, as any of the Lords of the Provinces which we had paſſed; and that he durſt do no other till this Day but entertain the *Spaniards*, his Country lying ſo directly in their Way, and the next of all other to any Entrance that ſhould be made in *Guiana* on that Side.

And they farther aſſured us, that it was not for Fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of thoſe *Spaniards*, or any other, that ſhould come hereafter; for the Province of *Cairoma* is ſituate at the Mountain Foot, which divideth the Plains of *Guiana* from the Countries of *Oroonokoponi*: By Means whereof if any ſhould come in our Abſence into his Towns, he would ſlip over the Mountains into the Plains of *Guiana* among the *Epuremei*, where the *Spaniards* durſt not follow him without great Force.

But in my Opinion, or rather I aſſure myſelf, that *Carapana* (being a notable wiſe and ſubtle Fellow, a Man of one hundred Years of Age, and therefore of great Experience) is removed, to look on, and if he find that we return ſtrong, he will be ours, if not, he will excuſe his Departure to the *Spaniards*, and ſay it was for Fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootleſs to row ſo far down the Stream, or to ſeek any farther for this old Fox; And therefore from the River of *Waricapana* (which lieth at the Entrance of *Emeria*,) we turned again, and left to the Eaſtward thoſe four Rivers which fall from out the Mountains of *Emeria* into *Oroonoko*, which are *Waracapari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: Below thoſe

thoſe four are alſo theſe Branches and Mouths of *Oroonoko*, which fall into the Eaſt Sea, whereof the firſt is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fifth *Moroca*, the ſixth *Paroma*, the laſt *Wymi*: Beyond them, there fall out of the Land between *Oroonoko* and *Amazones* fourteen Rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Canibals*.

It is now Time to return towards the North; and we found it a wearifome Way back, from the Borders of *Emeria*, to recover up again to the Head of the River *Carerupana*, by which we deſcended, and where we parted from the Galley, which I directed to take the next Way to the Port of *Toparimaca*, by which we entered firſt.

All the Night it was ſtormy and dark, and full of Thunder and great Showers, ſo as we were driven to keep cloſe by the Banks in our ſmall Boats, being all heartily afraid both of the Billow and terrible Current of the River. By the next Morning we recovered the Mouth of the River of *Cumaca*, where we left Captain *Eynus* and *Edward Porter*, to attend the coming of Captain *Keymis* over Land: But when we entered the ſame, they had heard no News of his Arrival, which bred in us a great Doubt what might be become of him: I rowed up a League or two farther into the River, ſhooting off Pieces all the Way, that he might know of our being there: And the next Morning we heard them anſwer us alſo with a Piece: We took them aboard us, and took our Leave of *Putyma* their Guide, who of all others moſt lamented our Departure, and offered to ſend his Son with us into *England*, if we could have ſtaid till he had ſent back to his Town: But our Hearts were cold to behold the great Rage and Increaſe of *Oroonoko*, and therefore departed, and turned toward the Weſt, till we had recovered the parting of the three Branches aforeſaid, that we might put down the Stream after the Galley.

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The next Day we landed on the Iſland of *Aſſapana*, (which divideth the River from that Branch by which we went down to *Emeria*) and there feaſted ourſelves with that Beaſt which is called *Armadilla*, preſented unto us before at *Winicapora*; and the Day following we recovered the Galley at Anchor at the Port of *Toparimaca*, and the ſame Evening departed with very foul Weather and terrible Thunder and Showers, for the Winter was come on very far: The beſt was, we went no leſs than 100 Miles a Day, down the River: But by the Way we entered, it was impoſſible to return; for that the River of *Amana*, being in the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be ſailed back by any Means, both the Breeze and Current of the Sea were ſo forcible; and therefore we followed a Branch of *Oroonoko* called *Capuri*, which entered into the Sea Eaſtward of our Ships, to the End we might bear with them before the Wind; and it was not without Need, for we had by that Way as much to croſs of the main Sea, after we came to the River's Mouth as between *Gravelin* and *Dover*, in ſuch Boats as your Honours have heard.

To ſpeak of what paſt Homeward were tedious, either to deſcribe or name any of the Rivers, Iſlands, or Villages of the *Tivitivas*, which dwell on Trees; we will leave all thoſe to the general Map: And to be ſhort, when we were arrived at the Sea Side then grew our greateſt Doubt, and the bittereſt of all our Journey forepaſſed; for I proteſt before God, that we were in a moſt deſperate Eſtate: For the ſame Night which we anchored in the Mouth of the River of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the Sea, there aroſe a mighty Storm, and the River's Mouth was at leaſt a League broad, ſo as we ran before Night cloſe under the Land with our ſmall Boats, and brought the Galley as near as we could, but ſhe had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her ſinking, and all thoſe in her: For mine own Part, I confeſs, I was

very doubtful which Way to take, either to go over in the peſtered Galley, there being but ſix Foot Water over the Sands, for two Leagues together, and that alſo in the Channel, and ſhe drew five; or to adventure in ſo great a Billow, and in ſo doubtful Weather, to croſs the Seas in my Barge. The longer we tarried the worſe it was; and therefore I took Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfeild*, and my Couſin *Greenville*, into my Barge, and after it cleared up, about Midnight we put ourſelves to God's keeping, and thruſt out into the Sea, leaving the Galley at Anchor, who durſt not adventure but by Day-light: And ſo being all very ſober and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to ſhew Courage, it pleaſed God that the next Day about nine of the Clock, we deſcried the Iſland of *Trinidado*, and ſteering for the neareſt Part of it, we kept the Shore till we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our Ships at Anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful Sight.

Now that it hath pleaſed God to ſend us ſafe to our Ships, it is Time to leave *Guiana* to the Sun, whom they worſhip, and ſteer away towards the North: I will therefore in a few Words finiſh the Diſcovery thereof. Of the ſeveral Nations which we found upon this Diſcovery I will once again make Repetition, and how they are affected. At our firſt Entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the Outlets of *Oroonoko*, we left on the right Hand of us in the Bottom of the Bay, lying directly againſt *Trinidado*, a Nation of inhuman *Canibals*, which inhabit the Rivers of *Guanipa* and *Berbeeſe*; in the ſame Bay there is alſo a third River which is called *Areo*, which riſeth on *Paria* Side towards *Cumana*, and that River is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whoſe chief Town upon the ſaid River is *Sayma*: In this Bay there are no more Rivers but theſe three before rehearſed, and the four Branches of *Amana*; all which in the Winter thruſt ſo great abundance of Water into the Sea, as the ſame is taken up freſh, two or three Leagues

Leagues from the Land. In the Paſſage towards *Guiana*, (that is, in all thoſe Lands which the eight Branches of *Oroonoko* faſhion into Iſlands,) there are but one Sort of People, called *Tivitivas*, but of two Caſts, as they term them, the one called *Ciawani*, the other *Waraweeti*, and thoſe war one with the other.

On the hithermoſt Part of *Oroonoko*, as at *Toparimaca*, and *Winicapora*, thoſe are of a Nation called *Nepoios*, and are of the Followers of *Carapana*, Lord of *Emeria*. Thoſe between *Winicapora* and the Port of *Morequito*, which ſtandeth in *Aromaia*, and all thoſe in the Valley of *Amariocopana* are called *Oroonokoponi*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are now Followers of *Topiawari*. Upon the River of *Caroli* are the *Canuri*, which are governed by a Woman (who is Inheritrix of that Province) who came far off to ſee our Nation, and aſked me divers Queſtions of her Majeſty, being much delighted with the Diſcourſe of her Majeſty's Greatneſs, and wondering at ſuch Reports as we truly made of her Highneſs's many Virtues. And upon the Head of *Caroli*, and on the Lake of *Caſſipa*, are the three ſtrong Nations of the *Caſſipagotos*. Right South into the Land are the *Capurepani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond thoſe adjoining to *Macureguarai*, (the firſt City of *Inga*,) are the *Iwarawakeri*: All theſe are profeſſed Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and to the rich *Epuremei* alſo. To the Weſt of *Caroli* are divers Nations of *Canibals*, and of thoſe *Ewaipanoma*, without Heads. Directly Weſt are the *Amapias* and *Anebas*, which are alſo marvellous rich in Gold. The reſt towards *Peru* we will omit. On the North of *Oroonoko*, between it and the Weſt-*Indies* are the *Wikiri*, *Sami*, and the reſt before ſpoken of, all mortal Enemies to the *Spaniards*. On the South Side of the main Mouth of *Oroonoko*, are the *Arwacas*: And beyond them the *Canibals*. And to the South of them the *Amazons*.

To make mention of the ſeveral Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fruits, Flowers, Gums, ſweet Woods, and of their

ſeveral Religions and Cuſtoms, would for the firſt require as many Volumes as thoſe of *Geſnerus*, and for the reſt another Bundle of Decades. The Religion of the *Epuremei* is the ſame which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* uſed, which may be read in *Cieca*, and other *Spaniſh* Stories, how they believe the Immortality of the Soul, worſhip the Sun, and bury with them alive their beſt beloved Wives and Treaſure, as they likewiſe do in *Pegu* in the Eaſt-*Indies*, and other Places. The *Oroonokoponi* bury not their Wives with them, but their Jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The *Arwacas* dry the Bones of their Lords, and their Wives and Friends drink them in Powder. In the Graves of the *Peruvians*, the *Spaniards* found their greateſt Abundance of Treaſure: The like alſo is to be found among theſe People in every Province. They have all many Wives, and the Lords five fold to the common Sort: Their Wives never eat with their Husbands, nor among the Men, but ſerve their Huſbands at Meals, and afterwards feed by themſelves. Thoſe that are paſt their younger Years, make all their Bread and Drink, and work their Cotton Beds, and do all elſe of Service and Labour, for the Men do nothing but hunt, fiſh, play, and drink, when they are out of the Wars.

I will enter no further into Diſcourſe of their Manners, Laws and Cuſtoms: And becauſe I have not my ſelf ſeen the Cities of *Inga*, I cannot avow on my Credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperor *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent Palaces in *Guiana* as his Anceſtors did in *Peru*, which were for their Riches and Rareneſs moſt marvellous, and exceeding all in *Europe*, and I think of the World, *China* excepted, which alſo the *Spaniards* (which I had) aſſured me to be of Truth, as alſo the Nations of the Borderers, who being but *Salvaios* to thoſe of the Inland, do cauſe much Treaſure to be buried with them, for I was informed of one of the *Caſſiqui* of the Valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him

him a little before our Arrival, a Chair of Gold moſt curiouſly wrought, which was made either in *Macureguari* adjoining, or in *Manoa:* But if we ſhould have grieved them in ther Religion at the firſt, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their Graves, we had loſt them all: And therefore I held my firſt Reſolution, that her Majeſty ſhould either accept or refuſe the Enterprize, ere any thing ſhould be done that might in any Sort hinder the ſame. And if *Peru* had ſo many Heaps of Gold, whereof thoſe *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted ſo much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in *Manoa*, hath the ſame Humour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of Gold within his Territory than all *Peru* and the Weſt-*Indies*.

For the reſt, which myſelf have ſeen, I will promiſe theſe Things that follow, and know to be true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcover and to ſee many Nations, may be ſatisfied within this River, which bringeth forth ſo many Arms and Branches leading to ſeveral Countries and Provinces, above 2000 Miles Eaſt and Weſt, and 800 Miles South and North: And of theſe, the moſt either rich in Gold, or in other Marchandizes. The common Soldier ſhall here fight for Gold, and pay himſelf inſtead of Pence, with Plates of half a Foot broad, whereas he breaketh his Bones in other Wars for Provant and Penury. Thoſe Commanders and Chieftains, that ſhoot at Honour and Abundance, ſhall find there more rich and beautiful Cities, more Temples adorned with golden Images, more Sepulchres filled with Treaſure, than either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pizzaro* in *Peru:* And the ſhining Glory of this Conqueſt will eclipſe all thoſe ſo far-extended Beams of the *Spaniſh* Nation. There is no Country which yieldeth more Pleaſure to the Inhabitants, either for theſe common Delights of Hunting, Hawking, Fiſhing, Fowling, and the reſt, than *Guiana* doth. It hath ſo many Plains, clear Rivers, abun-

dance of Pheaſants, Partridges, Quails, Rails, Cranes, Herons, and all other Fowl; Deer of all Sorts, Porkers, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and divers other Sorts of Beaſts, either for Chace or Food. It hath a Kind of Beaſt called *Cama*, or *Anta*, as big as an *Engliſh* Beef, and in great Plenty.

To ſpeak of the ſeveral Sorts of every Kind I fear would be troubleſome to the Reader; and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for Health, good Air, Pleaſure, and Riches, I am reſolved it cannot be equalled by any Region either in the Eaſt or Weſt. Moreover the Country is ſo healthful, as one hundred Perſons, and more, which lay (without Shift moſt ſluttiſhly, and were every Day almoſt melted with Heat in rowing and marching, and ſuddenly wet again with great Showers, and did eat of all Sorts of corrupt Fruits, and made Meals of freſh Fiſh without ſeaſoning, of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, and of all Sorts good and bad, without either Order or Meaſure, and beſides lodged in the open Air every Night) we loſt not any one, nor had one ill diſpoſed to my Knowledge, nor found any *Callentura*, or other of thoſe peſtilent Diſeaſes which dwell in all hot Regions, and ſo near the Equinoctial Line.

Where there is ſtore of Gold, it is in Effect needleſs to remember other Commodities for Trade: But it hath towards the South Part of the River, great Quantities of Braſil Wood, and of divers Berries that die a moſt perfect Crimſon and Carnation: And for Painting, all *France*, *Italy*, or the Eaſt *Indies* yield none ſuch; for the more the Skin is waſhed, the fairer the Colour appeareth, and with which, even thoſe brown and tawny Women ſpot themſelves, and colour their Cheeks. All Places yield abundance of Cotton, of Silk, of *Balſamum*, and of thoſe Kinds moſt excellent, and never known in *Europe*; Of all Sorts of Gums, of *Indian* Pepper, and what elſe the Countrie may afford within the Land we know not, neither

ther had we Time to abide the Trial and Search. The Soil beſides is ſo excellent and ſo full of Rivers, as it will carry Sugar, Ginger, and all thoſe other Commodities, which the Weſt-*Indies* hath.

The Navigation is ſhort, for it may be ſailed with an ordinary Wind in ſix Weeks, and in the like Time back again, and by the Way neither Lee-Shore, Enemy's Coaſt, Rocks, nor Sands; all which in the Voyages to the Weſt-*Indies*, and all other Places, we are ſubject unto, as the Channel of *Bahama*, coming from the Weſt-*Indies*, cannot be paſſed in the Winter, and when it is at the beſt, it is a perilous and fearful Place: The reſt of the *Indies* for Calms and Diſeaſes very troubleſome, and the *Bermudas* a helliſh Sea for Thunder, Lightning, and Storms.

This very Year there were ſeventeen Sail of *Spaniſh* Ships loſt in the Channel of *Bahama*, and the great *Philip* like to have ſunk at the *Bermudas*, was put back to Saint *Juan de Puerto Rico*. And ſo it falleth out in that Navigation every Year for the moſt Part, which in this Voyage are not to be feared; for the Time of the Year to leave *England* is beſt in *July*, and the Summer in *Guiana* is in *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, and then the Ships may depart thence in *April*, and ſo return again into *England* in *June*, ſo as they ſhall never be ſubject to Winter Weather, either coming, going, or ſtaying there; which, for my Part, I take to be one of the greateſt Comforts and Encouragements that can be thought on, having (as done) taſted in this Voyage by the Weſt *Indies* ſo many Calms, ſo much Heat, ſuch outrageous Guſts, fowl Weather and contrary Winds.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Country that hath yet her Maidenhead, never ſack'd, turn'd, nor wrought; the Face of the Earth hath not been torn, nor the Virtue and Salt of the Soil ſpent by Manurance, the Graves have not been opened for Gold, the Mines not

broken with Sledges, nor their Images pull'd down out of their Temples. It hath never been entered by any Army of Strength, and never conquered or poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince. It is beſides ſo defenſible, that if two Forts be built in one of the Provinces which I have ſeen, the Flood ſetteth in ſo near the Bank, where the Channel alſo lieth, that no Ship can paſs up, but within a Pike's Length of the Artillery, firſt of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a ſufficient Guard both to the Empire of *Inga*, and to an hundred other ſeveral Kingdoms, lying within the ſaid River, even to the City of *Quito in Peru*.

There is therefore great Difference between the Eaſineſs of the Conqueſt of *Guiana*, and the Defence of it being conquered, and the Weſt or Eaſt *Indies*: *Guiana* hath but one Entrance by the Sea (if it have that) for any Veſſels of Burden; ſo as whoſoever ſhall firſt poſſeſs it, it ſhall be found unacceſſable for any Enemy, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Cano's*, or elſe in flat bottom'd Boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that Manner, the Woods are ſo thick 200 Miles together upon the Rivers of ſuch Entrance, as a Mouſe cannot ſit in a Boat unhit from the Bank. By Land it is more impoſſible to approach, for it hath the ſtrongeſt Situation of any Region under the Sun, and is ſo inviroined with impaſſable Mountains on every Side, as it is impoſſible to victual any Company in the Paſſage, which hath been well proved by the *Spaniſh* Nation, who ſince the Conqueſt of *Peru* have never left five Years free from attempting this Empire, or diſcovering ſome Way into it; and yet of twenty-three ſeveral Gentlemen, Knights, and Noblemen, there was never any that knew which Way to lead an Army by Land, or to conduct Ships by Sea, any thing near the ſaid Country. *Oreliano*, of which the River of *Amazons* taketh Name was the firſt, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whom we diſplanted) the laſt: And I doubt much, whether

whether he himſelf or any of his, yet know the beſt Way into the ſaid Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any Strength be formerly ſet down, but in one or two Places, and but two or three Crumſters of Galleys built, and furniſhed upon the River within: The Weſt *Indies* hath many Ports, Watering-Places, and Landings, and nearer than 300 Miles to *Guiana*, no Man can harbour a Ship, except he know one only Place, which is not learnt in Haſte, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my Companies that knoweth, whoſoever hearkened moſt after it.

Beſides, by keeping one good Fort, or building one Town of Strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatſoever Companies ſhall be afterwards planted within the Land, although in twenty ſeveral Provinces, thoſe ſhall be able to reunite themſelves upon any Occaſion either by the Way of one River, or be able to march by Land without either Wood, Bog, or Mountain: Whereas in the Weſt *Indies* there are few Towns or Provinces that can ſuccour or relieve one the other, either by Land or Sea: By Land the Countries are either deſart, mountainous, or ſtrong Enemies: By Sea, if any Man invade to the Eaſtward, thoſe to the Weſt cannot in many Months turn againſt the Breeze and Eaſter-wind; beſides, the *Spaniards* are therein ſo diſperſed, as they are no where ſtrong, but in *Nueva Hiſpania* only; the ſharp Mountains, the Thorns, and poiſoned Prickles, the ſandy and deep Ways in the Vallies, the ſmothering Heat and Air, and Want of Water in other Places, are their only and beſt Defence, which (becauſe thoſe Nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to ſtay, neither have any Place to find adjoining) do ſerve them inſtead of good Arms and great Multitudes.

The Weſt-*Indies* were firſt offered her Majeſty's Grandfather by *Columbus*, a Stranger, in whom there might be Doubt of Deceit, and beſides, it was then thought

thought incredible, that there were ſuch and ſo many Land and Regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to her Majeſty by her own Vaſſal, and by him that oweth to her more Duty than an ordinary Subject; ſo that it ſhall ill ſort with the many Graces and Benefits which I have received, to abuſe her Highneſs either with Fables or Imaginations. The Country is already diſcovered, many Nations won to her Majeſty's Love and Obedience; and thoſe *Spaniards* which have lateſt and longeſt laboured about the Conqueſt, beaten out, diſcouraged and diſgraced, which among theſe Nations were thought invincible. Her Majeſty may, in this Enterprize, employ all thoſe Soldiers and Gentlemen that are younger Brethren, and all Captains and Chieftains that want Employment, and the Charge will be only the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them; for after the firſt or ſecond Year, I doubt not but to ſee in *London* a Contractation Houſe of more Receipt for *Guiana*, than there is now in *Seville* for the Weſt *Indies*.

And I am reſolved, that if there were but a ſmall Army a-foot in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chief City of *Inga*, he would yield her Majeſty by Compoſition ſo many hundred thouſand Pounds yearly, as ſhould both defend all Enemies abroad, and defray all Expences at home; and that he would beſides pay a Garriſon of 3000 or 4000 Soldiers very royally to defend him againſt other Nations; for he cannot but know, how his Predeceſſors, yea how his own great Uncles *Guaſcar* and *Atibalipa*, Sons to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the *Spaniards*, and that both of late Years, and ever ſince the ſaid Conqueſt, the *Spaniards* have ſought the Paſſages and Entry of his Country: And of their Cruelties uſed to the Borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which Reſpects, no doubt but he will be brought to Tribute with great Gladneſs;

if

If not, he hath neither Shot nor Iron Weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may eaſily be conquered.

And I farther remember, that *Berreo* confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the Majeſty of God to be true) that there was found among Prophecies in *Peru*, (at ſuch time as the Empire was reduced to the *Spaniſh* Obedience) in their chiefeſt Temples, amongſt divers others which foreſhewed the Loſs of the ſaid Empire, that from *Inglatierra* thoſe *Ingas* ſhould be again in Time to come reſtored, and delivered from the Servitude of the ſaid Conquerors. And I hope, as we with theſe few Hands have diſplanted the firſt Garriſon, and driven them out of the ſaid Country, ſo her Majeſty will give Order for the reſt, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as Empreſs of the ſame. For whatſoever Prince ſhall poſſeſs it, ſhall be greateſt; and if the King of *Spain* enjoy it, he will become irreſiſtable. Her Majeſty hereby ſhall confirm and ſtrengthen the Opinion of all Nations, as touching her great and princely Actions. And where the South Border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazons*, thoſe Women ſhall hereby hear the Name of a Virgin, which is not only able to defend her own Territories and her Neighbours, but alſo to invade and conquer ſo great Empires, and ſo far removed.

To ſpeak more at this Time, I fear would be but troubleſome: I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her Heart which is Lady of Ladies, to poſſeſs it; if not, I will judge thoſe Men worthy to be Kings thereof, that by her Grace and Leave will undertake it of themſelves.

AN

ABSTRACT

Taken out of certain *Spaniards* Letters concerning *Guiana* and the Countries lying upon the great River of *Oroonoko*: With certain Reports alſo touching the ſame.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

THOSE Letters out of which the Abſtracts following are taken, were ſurprized at Sea as they were paſſing for *Spain* in the Year 1594, by Captain *George Popham*; who the next Year, and the ſame that Sir *Walter Raleigh* diſcovered *Guiana*, as he was in a Voyage for the Weſt-*Indies*, learnt alſo the Reports annexed. All which, at his Return, being two Months after Sir *Walter*, as alſo ſo long after the writing of the former Diſcourſe, hearing alſo of his Diſcovery, he made known, and delivered to ſome of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and others. The which, ſeeing they confirm in ſome Part the Subſtance, I mean, the Riches of that Country; it hath been thought fit that they ſhould be thereunto adjoined. Wherein the Reader is to be advertiſed, that although the *Spaniards* ſeem to glory much of their formal Poſſeſſion taken before *Mo-*

requito

requito the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others thereabouts, which throughly underſtood them not at that Time, whatſoever the *Spaniards* otherwiſe pretend; yet, according to the former Diſcourſe, and as alſo it is related by *Caworaco*, the Son of *Topiawari*, now chief Lord of the ſaid *Aromaya*, who was brought into *England* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and was preſent at the ſame Poſſeſſion and Diſcovery of the *Spaniards* mentioned in theſe Letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their Country, the *Indians* then having farther Conſideration of the Matter, and more than Conjecture of their Intent, having known and heard of their former Cruelties upon their Borderers and others of the *Indians* elſewhere; at their next coming, there being ten of them ſent and employed for a farther Diſcovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another Manner of Sort than they had done before; that is to ſay, they ſlew them and buried them in the Country ſo much ſought. They gave them by that Means a full and compleat Poſſeſſion, the which before they had but begun. And ſo they are minded to do, to as many *Spaniards* as come after. Other Poſſeſſion they have had none ſince. Neither do the *Indians* mean, as they proteſt, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembred is, that in theſe Letters, the *Spaniards* ſeem to call *Guiana* and other Countries near it, bordering upon the River of *Oroonoko*, by the Name of *Nuevo Dorado*, becauſe of the great Plenty of Gold there in moſt Places to be found; alluding alſo to the Name of *El Dorado*, which was given by *Martinez*, to the great City of *Manoa*, as is in the former Treatiſe ſpecified. This is all I thought good to advertiſe. As for ſome other Matters, I leave them to the Conſideration and Judgment of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

LET-

LETTERS taken at Sea by Captain *George Popham*, 1594.

Alonſo his Letter from the *Gran Canaria* to his Brother, being Commander of S. *Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

THere have been certain Letters received here of late, of a Land newly diſcovered, called *Nuevo Dorado*, from the Sons of certain Inhabitants of this City, who were in the Diſcovery. They write of wonderful Riches to be found in the ſaid *Dorado*, and that Gold there is in great Abundance: The Courſe to fall with it is fifty Leagues to the Windward of *Margarita*.

Alonſo's Letter from thence to certain Merchants of S. *Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

SIRS,

WE have no News worth the writing, ſaving of a Diſcovery lately made by the *Spaniards*, in a new Land called *Nuevo Dorado*, which is two Days ſailing to the Windward of *Margarita*: There is Gold in ſuch Abundance, as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain in Letters written from thence by ſome that were in the Diſcovery, unto their Parents here in this City. I purpoſe (God willing) to beſtow ten or twelve Days in ſearch of the ſaid *Dorado*, as I paſs in my Voyage towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make ſome good Sale of our Commodities. I have ſent you therewith Part of the Information of the ſaid Diſcovery, that was ſent to his Majeſty.

Part of the Copy that was ſent to his Majeſty, of the Diſcovery of *Nuevo Dorado*.

IN the River of *Pato*, otherwiſe called *Oroonoko*, in the principal Part thereof called *Wariſmero*, the 23d of *April* 1593, *Domingo de Vera*, Maſter of the Camp, and

and General for *Antonio de Berreo* Governor and Captain-General for our Lord the King, betwixt the Rivers of *Pato* and *Papamene*, alias *Oroonoko*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iſland of *Trinidad*, in Preſence of me *Rodorigo de Carança*, Regiſter for the Sea, commanded all the Soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of Battle, the Captains and Soldiers, and Maſter of the Camp ſtanding in the midſt of them, ſaid unto them: "Sirs, Soldiers, and Captains, you underſtand long ſince that our General *Antonio de Berreo*, with the Travel of eleven Years, and Expence of more then an hundred thouſand Pezos of Gold, diſcovered the royal Provinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado:* Of the which he took Poſſeſſion to govern the ſame, but through Want of his People's Health, and neceſſary Munition, he iſſued out at the Iſland *Margarita*, and from thence peopled *Trinidad*. But now they have ſent me to learn out and diſcover the Ways moſt eaſily to enter, and to people the ſaid Provinces, and where the Camps and Armies may beſt enter the ſame. By Reaſon whereof I intend ſo to do in the Name of his Majeſty, and the ſaid Governor *Antonio de Berreo*; and in Token thereof, I require you *Francis Carillo*, that you aid me to advance this Croſs that lieth here on the Ground, which they ſet on End towards the Eaſt." And the ſaid Maſter of the Camp, the Captains and Soldiers kneeled down, and did due Reverence unto the ſaid Croſs; and thereupon the Maſter of the Camp took a Bowl of Water, and drank it off, and took more and threw it abroad on the Ground: He alſo drew out his Sword, and cut the Graſs off the Ground, and the Boughs off the Trees, ſaying, "I take this Poſſeſſion in the Name of the King *Don Philip* our Maſter, and of his Governor *Antonio de Berreo*." And becauſe ſome make queſtion of this Poſſeſſion, to them I anſwer, That in theſe our Actions was preſent the *Caſſique* or Principal, *Don Antonio*, otherwiſe called *Norequito*, whoſe Land this was, who yielded Conſent

to

to the ſaid Poſſeſſion, was glad thereof, and gave his Obedience to our Lord the King, and in his Name to the ſaid Governor *Antonio de Berreo*. And the ſaid Maſter of the Camp kneeled down, being in his Liberty, and all the Captains and Soldiers ſaid, That the Poſſeſſion was well taken; and that they would defend it with their Lives, upon whoſoever would ſay the contrary. And the ſaid Maſter of the Camp having his Sword drawn in his Hand ſaid unto me: "Regiſter, that are here preſent, give me an Inſtrument or Teſtimonial to confirm me in this Poſſeſſion, which I have taken of this Land, for the Governor *Antonio de Berreo*; and if it be needful I will take it anew." And I require you all that are preſent to witneſs the ſame; and do further declare, that I will go on; taking Poſſeſſion of all the Lands whereſoever I ſhall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera, and underneath, Before me *Rodrigo de Carança*, Regiſter of the Army.

AND in Proſecution of the ſaid Poſſeſſion, and the Diſcovery of the Way and Provinces, the 27th of *April* of the ſaid Year, the Maſter of the Camp entered by little and little with all the Camp and Men of War, more than two Leagues into the Inland, and came to a Town of a Principal, and conferring with him did let him underſtand by Means of *Antonio Biſante* the Interpreter, that his Majeſty and *Antonio de Berreo* had ſent him to take the ſaid Poſſeſſion. And the ſaid Frier *Francis Carillo*, by the Interpreter delivered him certain Things of our holy Catholick Faith; to all which he anſwered, they underſtood him well, and would become Chriſtians, and that with a very good Will they ſhould advance the Croſs, in what Part or Place of the Town it pleaſed them, for he was for the Governor *Antonio de Berreo*, who was his Maſter. Thereupon the ſaid Maſter of the Camp took a great

a great Croſs, and ſet it on End towards the Eaſt, and requeſted the whole Camp to witneſs it; and *Domingo de Vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done. And underneath, Before me *Rodrigo Crança*, Regiſter of the Army.

THE firſt of *May* they proſecuted the ſaid Poſſeſſion and Diſcovery to the Town on *Carapana*. From thence the ſaid Maſter of the Camp paſſed to the Town of *Toroco*, whoſe Principal is called *Topiawari*, being five Leagues farther within the Land than the firſt Nation, and well inhabited. And to this Principal by Means of the Interpreter, they gave to underſtand, that his Majeſty and the ſaid *Corrigidor* commanded them to take the Poſſeſſion of that Land; and that they ſhould yield their Obedience to his Majeſty, and to his *Corrigidor*, and to the Maſter of the Camp in his Name; and that in Token thereof he would place a Croſs in the Middle of his Town. Whereunto the ſaid *Caſſique* anſwered, they ſhould advance it with a very good Will, and that he remained in the Obedience of our Lord the King, and of the ſaid Governor *Antonio de Berreo*, whoſe Vaſſal he would be.

The fourth of *May* we came to a Province above five Leagues thence, of all Sides inhabited with much People. The Principal of this People came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called *Revato:* He brought us to a very large Houſe, where he entertained us well, and gave us much Gold; and the Interpreter aſking him from whence that Gold was, he anſwered, from a Province not paſſing a Day's Journey off, where there are ſo many *Indians* as would ſhadow the Sun, and ſo much Gold as all yonder Plain will not contain it. In which Country (when they enter into the *Borracheras*, or their drunken Feaſts) they take of the ſaid Gold in Duſt, and anoint themſelves all

over therewith, to make the braver Shew; and to the End the Gold may cover them, they anoint their Bodies with ſtamped Herbs of a glewy Subſtance: And they have War with thoſe *Indians*. They promiſed us that if we would go unto them, they would aid us; but they were ſuch infinite Numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being aſked how they got the ſame Gold, they told us they went to a certain Down or Plain, and pulled and digged up the Graſs by the Root: Which done, they took of the Earth, putting it in great Buckets, which they carried to waſh at the River, and that which came in Powder they kept for their *Borracheras* or drunken Feaſts, and that which was in Pieces they wrought into Eagles.

The eighth of *May* we went from thence, and marched about five Leagues: At the Foot of a Hill we found a Principal called *Arataco*, with three thouſand *Indians* Men and Women, all in Peace and with much Victual, as Hens and Veniſon in great Abundance, and many Sorts of Wine. He intreated us to go to his Houſe, and to reſt that Night in his Town, being of five hundred Houſes. The Interpreter aſked whence he had thoſe Hens: He ſaid they were brought from a Mountain not paſſing a quarter of a League thence, where were many *Indians*, yea ſo many as Graſs on the Ground, and that theſe Men have the Points of their Shoulders higher than the Crowns of their Heads, and had ſo many Hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we ſhould ſend them Jews Harps, for they would give for every one two Hens. We took an *Indian*, and gave him five hundred Harps; the Hens were ſo many that he brought us, as were not to be numbred. We ſaid, we would go thither; they told us they were now in their *Borracheras*, or drunken Feaſts, and would kill us. We aſked the *Indian* that brought the Hens, if it were true; he ſaid it was moſt true. We aſked him how they made their *Borracheras*, or drunken Feaſts; he ſaid, they had many

many Eagles of Gold hanging on their Breaſts, and Pearls in their Ears, and that they danced, being all covered with Gold. The *Indian* ſaid unto us, if we would ſee them, we ſhould give him ſome Hatchets, and he would bring us of thoſe Eagles. The Maſter of the Camp gave him one Hatchet (he would give him no more, becauſe they ſhould not underſtand we went to ſeek Gold) he brought us an Eagle that weighed 27 Pounds of good Gold. The Maſter of the Camp took it, and ſhewed it to the Soldiers, and then threw it from him, making Shew not to regard it. About Midnight came an *Indian*, and ſaid unto him, Give me a Pickax, and I will tell thee what the *Indians* with the high Shoulders mean to do. The Interpreter told the Maſter of the Camp, who commanded one to be given him: He then told us, thoſe *Indians* were coming to kill us for our Merchandize. Hereupon the Maſter of the Camp cauſed his Company to be ſet in Order, and began to march. The eleventh day of *May* we went about ſeven Leagues from thence to a Province, where we found a great Company of *Indians* apparelled: They told us that if we came to fight, they would fill up thoſe Plains with *Indians* to fight with us; but if we came in Peace, we ſhould enter and be well entertained of them, becauſe they had a great Deſire to ſee Chriſtians: And there they told us of all the Riches that was. I do not here ſet it down, becauſe there is no Place for it, but it ſhall appear by the Information that goeth to his Majeſty; for if it ſhould here be ſet down, four Leaves of Paper would not contain it.

The Letter of *George Burien Britton* from the ſaid *Canaries* unto his Couſin a Frenchman dwelling in *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

SIR, and my very good Couſin,

THere came of late certain Letters from a new diſcovered Country not far from *Trinidad*, which they write, hath Gold in great Abundance: The News

ſeemeth to be very certain, becauſe it paſſeth for good amongſt the beſt of this City. Part of the Information of the Diſcovery that went to his Majeſty, goeth incloſed in *Alonſo*'s Letters; it is a Thing worth the ſeeing.

The Report of *Domingo Martinez* of *Jamaica* concerning *El Dorado*.

HE ſaith that in 1593, being at *Carthagena*, there was a general Report of a late Diſcovery called *Nuevo Dorado*, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a Frigate from the ſaid *Dorado*, bringing in it the Portraiture of a Giant all of Gold, of Weight 47 Quintals, which the *Indians* there held for their Idol. But now admitting of Chriſtianity and Obedience to the King of *Spain*, they ſent their ſaid Idol unto him, in Token they were become Chriſtians, and held him for their King. The Company coming in the ſaid Frigate, reported Gold to be there in moſt Abundance, Diamonds of ineſtimable Value, with great Store of Pearl.

The Report of a *Frenchman* called *Bountillier* of *Sherbrouke*, concerning *Trinidad* and *Dorado*.

HE ſaith, that being at *Trinidad* in 1591, he had of an *Indian* there a Piece of Gold of a quarter of a Pound in Exchange of a Knife; the ſaid *Indian* told him, he had it at the Head of that River which cometh to *Paracoa* in *Trinidad*: And that within the River of *Oroonoko*, it was in great Abundance. Alſo in 1593, being taken by the *Spaniards*, and brought Priſoner into the Iſland of *Madeira* (the Place for his Priſon) there came in this mean Time a Bark of forty Guns from a new Diſcovery, with two Millions of Gold; the Company whereof reported Gold in that Place to be in great Abundance, and called it *El Nuevo*

Nuevo Dorado. This *Frenchman* paſſed from *Spain* in the Bark, and having a Cabbin near a Gentleman, one of the Diſcoverers that came from that Place in the ſaid Bark, had divers Times Conference with him, and amongſt other Things, of the great Abundance of Gold in the ſaid *Dorado*, being, as they ſaid, within the River of *Oroonoko*.

Reports of certain Merchants of *Rio de Hacha*, concerning *El Nuevo Dorado.*

THEY ſaid (advancing the King's great Treaſure in the *Indies*) that *Neuevo Reyno* yielded very many Gold Mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was diſcovered a certain Province ſo rich in Gold, as the Report thereof may ſeem incredible, it is there in ſuch Abundance; and is called *El Nuevo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo* made the ſaid Diſcovery.

The Report of a *Spaniard*, Captain with *Berreo* in the Diſcovery of *El Nuevo Dorado.*

THAT the Information ſent to the King was in every Point truly ſaid, that the River *Oroonoko* hath ſeven Mouths, or Outlets into the Sea, called *Las Siete Bocas de Dragon*; that the ſaid River runneth far into the Land, in many Places very broad, and that *Anth. de Berreo* lay at *Trinidad*, making head to go and conquer and people the ſaid *Dorado*.

SIR

SIR *WALTER RALEIGH*'s APOLOGY FOR HIS VOYAGE TO *GUIANA*.

SIR

WALTER RALEIGH's

APOLOGY.

IF the ill Succeſs of this Enterpriſe of mine had been without Example, I ſhould have needed a large Diſcourſe, and many Arguments for my Juſtification. But if the vain Attempts of the greateſt Princes of *Europe*, both among themſelves and againſt the great *Turk*, are in all modern Hiſtories left to every Eye to peruſe; it is not ſo ſtrange that my ſelf, being but a private Man, and drawing after me the Chains and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen Years tyed in the *Tower*, (being unpardoned, and in diſgrace with my Sovereign Lord) have, by other Men's Errors, failed in the Attempt I undertook.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampled Loſs, (I will not ſay Diſhonour,) from *Algier*, in *Africa*; or if King *Sebaſtian* loſt himſelf and his Army in *Barbary*; if the invincible Fleet and Forces of *Spain* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the Lord

Lord *Charles Howard* Admiral of *England*; if Mr. *Strozzi*, the Count *Brizack*, the Count of *Vinnoſo*, and others, with a Fleet of fifty eight ſail, and ſix thouſand Soldiers, encountred with far leſs Numbers, could not defend the *Terceres*; leaving to ſpeak of a World of other Attempts furniſhed by Kings and Princes; if Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Baſkervile*, Men for their Experience and Valour as eminent as *England* had any, ſtrengthned with divers of her Majeſty's Ships, and filled with Soldiers at will, could not poſſeſs themſelves of the Treaſure they ſought for, which in their View was imbarked in certain Frigates at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulſed with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vaſques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira*, in their Paſſage towards *Panania*: If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any Fault of his) failed in the Attempts of *Liſbon*, and returned with the Loſs, by Sickneſs and otherwiſe, of eight thouſand Men; what wonder is it, but that mine (which is the laſt) being followed with a Company of Voluntiers, who for the moſt Part, had neither ſeen the Sea nor the Wars, who, ſome forty Gentlemen excepted, were the very ſcum of the World, Drunkards, Blaſphemers, and ſuch others as their Fathers, Brothers and Friends thought it an exceeding good Gain to be diſcharged of them, with the Hazard of ſome thirty, forty or fifty Pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole Year ſo cheap at home: I ſay, what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be preſent my ſelf, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I moſt truſted) living, or in State to ſupply my Place?

Now whereas it was bruited, both before and ſince my Departure out of *England*, and by the moſt Men believed, that I meant nothing leſs than to go to *Guiana*; but that being once at Liberty, and in mine own Power, having made my Way with ſome foreign Prince, I would turn Pirate, and utterly forſake my Country;

Country; my being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not taking the Spoil of the Subjects of any Chriſtian Prince, hath (I doubt not) deſtroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all; for it hath been given out by an hypocritical Thief, who was the firſt Maſter of my Ship; and by an ungrateful Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, (though of honourable worthy Parents) and by others, that I carried with me out of *England* twenty two thouſand Pieces of twenty two Shillings the Piece, and therefore needed not, or cared not to diſcover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other Attempt elſewhere: Which Report being carried ſecretly from one to another in my Ship, (and ſo ſpread through all the Ships in the Fleet, which ſtaid with me at *Trinidado* while our Land-Forces were in *Guiana*,) had like to have been my utter Overthrow in a moſt miſerable Faſhion; for it was conſulted, when I had taken my Barge, and gone aſhore (either to diſcover or otherwiſe as I often did) that my Ship ſhould have ſet ſail and left me there; where either I muſt have ſuffered Famine, been eaten with wild Beaſts, or have fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and been flayed alive, as others of the *Engliſh*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Proteſtation; that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the World, either in my keeping or in my Power, either directly or indirectly, in truſt or otherwiſe, above one Hundred Pieces, when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five Pieces with my Wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my ſelf for a Reprobate, a Villain, a Traitor to the King, and the moſt unworthy Man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the Earth.

Now whereas the Captains that left me in the *Indies*, and Captain *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuſe themſelves, objected for the firſt,

firſt, that I lingered at *Plymouth* when I might have gone thence, and loſt a fair Wind, and Time of the Year, or to that Effect; it is ſtrange that Men of Faſhion and Gentlemen ſhould ſo groſly bely their own Knowledge; that had not I lived nor returned to have made anſwer to this Fiction, yet all that knew us in *Plymouth*, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary: For after I had ſtayed at the Iſle of *Wight* divers Days, the *Thunder*, commanded by Sir *Warren St. Leger*, by the Negligence of her Maſter, was at *Lee* in the *Thames*; and after I arrived at *Plymouth*, Captain *Pennington* was not come then to the Iſle of *Wight*, and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his Bread from the Bakers, he rode back to *London* to intreat Help from my Wife to pay for it; who having not ſo much Money to ſerve his Turn, ſhe wrote to Mr. *Wood* of *Portſmouth*, and gave him her Word for thirty Pounds, which ſhe ſoon after paid him, without which (as *Pennington* himſelf proteſted to my Wife) he had not been able to have gone the Journey: Sir *John Ferne* I found there without all Hope of being able to proceed, having neither Men nor Money, and in great Want of other Proviſion; inſomuch as I furniſhed him by my Couſin *Herbert* with a hundred Pounds, having ſupplied himſelf in *Wales* with a hundred Pounds before his coming to *Plymouth*; and procured him a third hundred Pounds from the worthy and honeſt Dean of *Exeter*, Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captain *Whitney*, whom I alſo ſtaid for, had a third Part of his Victuals to provide, inſomuch as having no Money to help him withal, I ſold my Plate in *Plymouth* to ſupply him. *Baily* I left at the Iſle of *Wight*, whoſe Arrival I alſo attended here ſome ten or twelve Days, as I remember. And what ſhould move *Baily* only to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*, from whence he might have departed with my Love and Leave, and at his Return to do me all the Wrong he could deviſe, I cannot conceive; he ſeemed to me from the Beginning

ginning not to want any thing, he only desired of me some Ordnance and some iron-bound Cask, and I gave it him: I never gave him ill Language, nor offered him the least Unkindness to my Knowledge: It is true, that I refused him a *French* Shallop which he took in the Bay of *Portugal* outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the *French*, and paid fifty Crowns ready Money for her, if *Bailey* had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other Nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeed both against Reason and our best Endeavours; so it is most commonly true, that Men are the Cause of their own Misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late Enterprize without a Pardon; for all my Company having heard it avow'd in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a Man who was *Non Ens* in law; so hath the Want thereof taken from me both Arms and Actions: Which gives Boldness to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all Places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Liars.

It hath been secondly objected, That I put into *Ireland*, and spent much Time there, taking care to revictual my self, and none of the rest.

Certainly I had no Purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plymouth*; but being encountered with a strong Storm some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, (in which Captain *Chudley*'s Pinace was sunk, and Captain *King* thrust into *Bristol*;) I held it the Office of a Commander of many Ships, and those of divers Sailings and Conditions, of which some could hull and and trye, and some of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other, rather to take a Port, and keep his Fleet together, than either to endanger the Loss of Masts and Yards,

or to have it ſevered far aſunder, and to be thruſt into divers Places; for the Attendance of meeting them again at the next Rendezvous, would conſume more Time and Victual, (and perchance the weak Ships might be ſet upon, taken, or diſordered) than could be ſpent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next Change of Wind.

That the diſſevering of Fleets hath been the Overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every Man's Knowledge. In the laſt Enterprize of Worth, undertaken by our *Engliſh* Nation with three Squadrons of Ships, commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and my ſelf, where was alſo preſent the Earl of *Southampton*; if we being ſtorm-beaten in the Bay of *Alcaſhar*, or *Biſcay*, had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our tranſporting Ships, with our Men of War, we had in all Likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Azores*.

That we ſtaid long in *Ireland* it is true; but they muſt accuſe the Clouds and not me, for our Stay there; for I loſt not a Day of a good Wind; there was not any Captain of the Fleet but had Credit, or might have had, for a great deal of more Victuals than we ſpent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them, and ſomewhat elſe.

For the third Accuſation, That I landed in hoſtile Manner at *Lancerota*; certainly captain *Baily* had great Want of Matter when he gave that for an Excuſe of his turning back; for I refer my ſelf to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever juſtify a Truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captain *Baily* to know whether he ſhould land his Men with the reſt) I made this Anſwer, that he might land them if it pleaſed him, or otherwiſe keep them aboard; for I had agreed with the Governor for a Proportion of Victual which I hourly expected: And it is true, that the Governor being deſirous to ſpeak with me with one Gentleman

man with him, with their Rapiers only; which I accepting, and taking with me Lieuteant *Bradſhaw*, we agreed, that I ſhould ſend up an *Engliſh* Factor (whoſe Ship did then ride in the Road) and that whatſoever the Iſland could yield, ſhould be delivered at a reaſonable Rate: I ſent the *Engliſh* Factor according to our Agreement, but the Governor put it off from one Morning to another, and in the End ſent me Word, that except I would embark my Men which lay on the Sea Side, the *Iſlanders* were ſo jealous as they durſt not ſever themſelves to make our Proviſions. I did ſo, but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our Centinels were forc'd, one ſlain, and the *Engliſh* Factor ſent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he ſtill believed to be a Fleet of the *Turks*, who had lately taken and deſtroyed *Puerto Sancto*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched towards the Town and have ſack'd it; but I knew it would not only diſlike his Majeſty, but that our Merchants having a continual Trade with thoſe Iſlands, that their Goods would have been ſtayed, and amongſt the reſt, the poor *Engliſhman* riding in the Road, having all that he brought thither aſhore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof I complained to the Governor of the Grand *Canaries*, whom I alſo deſired that we might take Water without any Diſturbance; but inſtead of Anſwer, when we landed ſome hundred Men, far from any Habitation, and in a deſart Place of the Iſland, where we found ſome freſh Water, there Ambuſh was laid; and one *Fiſher* of Sir *John Fernes*'s Ship wounded to Death; and more had been ſlain had not Captain *Thornhuſt* and Maſter *Robert Hayman* my Son's Lieutenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who firſt made head againſt them, ſeconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger*, and my Son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From hence becauſe there was Scarcity of Water, we ſailed to *Gomarrah*, one of the

the ſtrongeſt and beſt defenced Places of all the Iſlands, and the beſt Port; the Town being ſeated upon the very Waſh of the Sea. At the firſt Entrance of our Ships, they ſhot at us, and ours at them; but as ſoon as I myſelf recovered the Harbour, and had commanded that there ſhould be no more ſhooting, I ſent a *Spaniard* aſhore (taken in a Bark which came from *Cape Blank*) to tell the Governor that I had no Purpoſe to make War with any of the *Spaniſh* King's Subjects, and if any Harm were done by our great Ordnance to the Town, it was his fault, which by ſhooting firſt gave the Occaſion. He ſent me for Anſwer, that he thought we had been the *Turkiſh* Fleet which deſtroyed *Puerto Sancto*; but being reſolved by the Meſſenger, that we were Chriſtians and *Engliſh*, and ſought nothing but Water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleaſed to take, if he might be aſſured that we would not attempt his Town-Houſes, nor deſtroy the Gardens and Fruits. I returned him Anſwer, that I would give him my Faith, and the Word of the King of *Great Britain* my Sovereign Lord, that the People of the Town and Iſland ſhould not loſe ſo much as one Orange, or a Grape, without paying for it; for if any Man of mine ſhould injure them, I would hang him up in the Market-ſtreet. Now that I kept my Faith with him, and how much he held himſelf bound unto me, I have divers of his Letters to ſhew, for he wrote unto me every Day. And the Counteſs being of an *Engliſh* Race (a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the Houſe of *Horn* by the Father,) ſent me divers Preſents of Fruits, Sugar and Ruſk; to whom I returned (becauſe I would not depart in her Debt) Things of greater Value. The old Earl at my Departure, wrote a Letter to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here in *England*, how I behaved myſelf in thoſe Iſlands. There I diſcharged a Bark of the grand *Canaries*, taken by one of my Pinaces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*; and demanding of him what Prejudice

Prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my Men had eaten of his Fiſh to the Value of ſix Ducats, for which I gave him eight.

From the *Canaries*, it is ſaid, That I ſailed to *Cape de Verte*, knowing it to be an infectious Place, by reaſon whereof, I loſt ſo many of my Men e're I recovered the *Indies*. The Truth is, that I came no nearer to *Cape de Verte* than *Bravo*, which is one hundred and ſixty Leagues off; but had I taken it in my Way, falling upon the Coaſt, or any other Part of *Guiana*, after the Rains, there is as little Danger of Infection, as in any other Part of the World, as our *Engliſh* that trade in thoſe Parts every Year do well know. There are few Places in *England*, or in the World, near great Rivers, which run through low Grounds, or near mooriſh or marſh Grounds, but the People inhabiting near, are at ſome Time of the Year ſubject to Fevers; witneſs *Woolwich* in *Kent*, and all down the Rivers on both Sides; other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except it be, when the Eaſterly Wind or Breezes are kept off, by ſome high Mountains from the Vallies, whereby the Air wanting Motion, doth become exceeding unhealthful, as at *Nomber de Dios* and elſewhere. But as good Succeſs admits no Examination, ſo the contrary allows of no Excuſe, how reaſonable or juſt ſoever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Thomas*, when they paſt the Streights of *Magellan*, met with a Storm, which drove *Winter* back, which thruſt *John Thomas* upon the Iſlands to the South, where he was caſt away; and drove Sir *Francis* near a ſmall Iſland upon which the *Spaniards* landed their Cheins and Murderers, from *Baldivia*; and he found there *Philip* an *Indian*, who told him where he was, and conducted him to *Baldivia*, where he took his firſt Prize of Treaſure; and in that Ship he found a Pilot called *John Grege*, who guided him all that Coaſt, in which he

poſſeſt himſelf of the reſt, which Pilot, becauſe he ſhould not rob him of his Reputation and Knowledge in thoſe Parts, (deſiſting the Intreaties and Tears of all his Company) he ſet him a ſhore upon the Iſland of *Aegulus*, that is *Aligator*, to be by them devoured. After which paſſing by the Eaſt-*Indies*, he returned into *England*; and notwithſtanding the Peace between us and *Spain*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never ſo much as called to an Account for cutting off *Dugly*'s Head at *Porte St. Julian*, having neither Marſhal Law, nor other Commiſſion available. Mr. *Candiſh* having paſt all the Coaſts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a Farthing, when he was without Hope, and ready to ſhape his Courſe by the Eaſt homewards, met a Ship which came from the *Philippines* at *Caleſtorvia*, a thouſand Pounds to a Nut-ſhell. Theſe two in theſe two Voyages, were the Children of Fortune, and much honoured; but when Sir *Francis Drake* in his laſt Attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the River of *Chyagre*, within eight Miles of *Panama*, he notwithſtanding ſet the Troops on Land at *Nomber de Dios*, and received the Repulſe aforeſaid, and died for Sorrow. The ſame Succeſs had *Candiſh* in his laſt Paſſage towards the Streights. I ſay that one and the ſame End they both had, to wit, *Drake* and *Candiſh*, when Chance had left them to the Trial of their own Virtues.

For the reſt, I leave to all worthy and indifferent Men to judge, by what Neglect or Error of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana*, which I had formerly diſcovered, was not found and enjoyed; for after we had refreſhed ourſelves in *Galleana*, otherwiſe in the firſt Diſcovery called *Port Howard*, where we tarried for Captain *Haſtins*, Captain *Pigot*, and Captain *Snedal*, and there recovered the moſt Part of our ſick Men, I did embark ſix Companies, of fifty to each Company, in five Ships; to wit, the *Encounter*, commanded by Captain *Witney*; in the *Confidence*, by Captain

tain *Woolaſtone*; in two Flyboats of my own, commanded by Captain *Samuel King*, and Captain *Robert Smith*: in a Carvil. Which Companies had for their Leaders Captain *Charles Parker*, Captain *North*, my Son, Captain *Thornhurſt*, Captain *Penjuglous* Lieutenant, and Captain *Chudley's* Lieutenant *Prideux*.

At the *Triangle* Iſlands, I embarked the Companies for *Oroonoko*, between which and *Galleana*, I lay a-ground twenty four Hours; and if it had not been fair Weather, we had never come off the Coaſt, having not above two Fathom and a half of Water: Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the beſt Port of all that Track of Land, between the River *Amazones* and *Orconoko*; there I gave them order to trim their Boats and Barges; and by the *Indians* of that Place, to underſtand the State of the *Spaniards* in *Oroonoko*, and whether they had replanted or ſtrengthened themſelves upon the Entrances, or elſewhere; and if they found any *Indians* there, to ſend in the little Fly boat, or the Carvill into the River of *Diſſebecke*, where they ſhould not fail to find Pilots for *Oroonoko*. For with our great Ships we durſt not approach the Coaſt, we having been all of us a-ground; and in Danger of leaving our Bands upon the Shoales, before we recovered the *Triangle* Iſlands, as aforeſaid. The biggeſt Ship that could enter the River was the *Encounter*, who might be brought to eleven Foot. The Depth of the Water upon the Bar, we could never underſtand neither by *Keymis*, who was the firſt of any Nation that had entered the main Mouth of *Oroonoko*, nor by any other of the Maſters or Mariners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve Years for Tobacco: For the *Chudley*, when ſhe came near the Entrance, drawing but twelve Foot, found herſelf in Danger, and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas ſome of my Friends have been unſatisfied, why I myſelf had not gone up with the Com-

panies I ſent, I deſire hereby to give them Satisfaction, that beſides my want of Health and Strength, having not recovered my long and dangerous Sickneſs, but was again fallen into a Relapſe, my Ship ſhoaled and laid a-ground at ſeventeen Foot Water, ſeven Leagues off the Shoar, ſo as the Maſter nor any of my Company durſt adventure to come near it, much leſs to fall between the Shoals on the South Side of the River's Side, and Sands on the North Side called *Punto Anegado*, one of the moſt dangerous Places in all the *Indies*. It was therefore reſolved by us all, that the five greater Ships ſhould ride at *Punto Gallo*, in *Trinidado*; and the five leſſer ſhould enter the River; for if *Whitney* and *Woollaſton* at eleven Foot lay a-ground three Days in paſſing up, in what Caſe had I been which drew ſeventeen Foot, a heavier Ship, and charged with forty Pieces of Ordnance. Beſides this Impoſſibility, neither would my Son nor the reſt of the Captains and Gentlemen, have adventured themſelves up the River (having but one Month's Victuals, and being thruſt together a Hundred of them in a ſmall Fly-boat) had not I aſſured them, that I would ſtay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force ſhould drive me thence, except I were ſunk in the Sea, or ſet on Fire by the *Spaniſh* Galleons; for that they would have adventured themſelves upon any other Man's Word or Reſolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this Sort reſolved upon our Enterprize, and having given Inſtructions, how they ſhould proceed before and after their Entrance into *Oroonoko*, *Keymis* having undertaken to diſcover the Mine, with ſix or eight Perſons in Sir *John Ferne*'s Shallop; I better bethinking myſelf, and miſliking his Determination, gave him this Order, *viz.*

"*Keymis*, whereas, you were reſolved after your Arrival into *Oroonoko* to paſs to the Mine (with my Couſin *Herbert* and ſix Muſketeers,) and to that End you

you deſired to have Sir *John Ferne*'s Shallop, I do not allow of that Courſe, becauſe you cannot land ſo ſecretly, but that ſome *Indians* on the River Side may diſcover you, who giving Knowledge of your Paſſage to the *Spaniards*, you may be cut off before you can recover your Boat: I do therefore adviſe you to ſuffer the Captains and the Companies of the *Engliſh* to paſs up to the Weſtwards of the Mountain *Aio*, from whence you have no leſs than three Miles to the Mine; and to lodge and encamp between the *Spaniſh* Town and you, if there be any Town near it; that being ſo ſecured you may make Trial what Depth and Breadth the Mine holds, and whether or no it anſwer our Hopes. And if you find it Royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repel them, if it be in his Power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find that the Mine be not ſo rich as it may perſuade the holding of it, and draw on a ſecond Supply, then ſhall you bring but a Baſket or two, to ſatisfy his Majeſty that my Deſign was not imaginatory but true, though not anſwerable to his Majeſty's Expectation, for the Quantity of which I never gave Aſſurance, nor could.

On the other Side, if you ſhall find that any great Number of Soldiers be newly ſent into *Oroonoko*, as the *Caſſique* of *Caliana* told us that they were, and that the Paſſages be already forc'd; ſo that without manifeſt Peril of my Son, your ſelf, and other Captains, you cannot paſs toward the Mine, then be well adviſed how you land; for I know (a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scum of Men you have; and I would not for all the World receive a Blow from the *Spaniards* to the Diſhonour of our Nation: I myſelf for my Weakneſs cannot be preſent, neither will the Company land, except I ſtay with the Ships, the Galleons of *Spain* being daily expected. *Piggot* the Serjeant-Major is dead. Sir *Warrham* my Lieutenant, without Hope of Life, and my Nephew your Serjeant-Major

now but a young Man: It is therefore on your Judgment that I rely, whom I truſt God will direct for the beſt.

Let me hear from you as ſoon as you can; you ſhall find me at *Puncto Gallo*, dead or alive; and if you find not my Ships there, yet you ſhall find their Aſhes; for I will fire with the Galleons, if it come to Extremity, but run away I will never."

That theſe my Inſtructions were not followed, was not my Fault; but it ſeems that the Serjeant-Major, *Keymis* and the reſt, were by Accident forced to change their firſt Reſolution, and that finding a *Spaniſh* Town or rather a Village, ſet up twenty Miles diſtant from the Place where *Antonio Berreo* the firſt Governor by me taken in my firſt Diſcovery, who had attempted to plant, to wit, ſome two Leagues to the Weſtward of the Mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the Mine and the Town, which they did not ſuſpect to be ſo near them as it was. And meaning to reſt themſelves on the River's Side till the next Day; they were in the Night ſet upon and charged by the *Spaniards*, which being unlook'd for, the common Sort of them were ſo amazed, as had not the Captains and ſome other valiant Gentlemen made a Head, and encouraged the reſt, they had all been broken and cut in Pieces. To repel this Force, putting themſelves in Order, they charged the *Spaniards*, and following them upon their Retreat, they were ready to enter the Town, e're they knew where they were; and being then charged again by the Governor, and four or five Captains which led their Companies; my Son not tarrying for my Muſketeers ran up in the Head of a Company of Pikes, where he was firſt ſhot, and preſſing upon a *Spaniſh* Captain called *Erinetta* with his Sword, *Erinetta*, taking the ſmall End of his Muſket in his Hand, ſtruck him on the Head with the Stock, and fell'd him; whom again *John Pleſington*, my Son's Serjeant, thruſt through with his Halbert; at which time alſo the Governor

Governor *Diego Palmeque*, and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Captains being ſlain, and their Companies divided, they betook themſelves into a Houſe or Hold, adjoining to the Market-Place, whereby they ſlew and wounded the *Engliſh* at their Pleaſure; ſo as we had no Way to ſave our ſelves, but by firing thoſe Houſes adjoining, which done, all the *Spaniards* ran into the bordering Woods and Hills, keeping the *Engliſh* ſtill waking with perpetual Alarms.

The Town, ſuch as it was, being in this Sort poſſeſt, *Keymis* prepared to diſcover the Mine, which at this Time he was reſolved to do, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his own Hand-writing, hereafter inſerted. He took with him Captain *Thornhurſt*, Maſter *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hambden*, and others; but, at his firſt Approach near the Bank where he meant to land, he received from the Wood a Volley of Shot, which ſlew two of his Company, hurt ſix others, and wounded Captain *Thornhurſt* in the Head, of the which he languiſhed three Months after.

Keymis *his* LETTER, *dated the eighth of* January, *from* Oroonoko.

" ALL Things that appertain to human Condition,
" in that proper Nature and Senſe, that of Fate
" and Neceſſity belongeth unto them, being now over
" with your Son, maketh me chooſe rather with Grief
" to let you know from me this certain Truth than
" Uncerrainties from others; which is, *viz.* That had
" not his extraordinary Valour and Forwardneſs, which
" with conſtant Vigour of Mind, being in the Hands
" of Death his laſt Breath expreſſed in theſe Words,
" (*Lord have Mercy upon me and proſper your Enterprize*)
" led them all on, when ſome began to pauſe and
" recoil ſhamefully; this Action had neither been

" attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this " ſurviving Honour.

" This *Indian* Pilot whom I have ſent, if there be " Occaſion to uſe his Service in any thing, will prove " ſufficient and truſty: *Peter Andrewes*, whom I have " ſent with him, can better certify your Lordſhip of " the State of the Town, the Plenty, the Condition " of our Men, *&c.* than I can write the ſame.

" We have the Governor's Servant Priſoner, that " waited on him in his Bed-chamber, and knows all " Things that concerned his Maſter. We find there " are four Refiners Houſes in the Town; the beſt " Houſes of the Town. I have not ſeen one Piece " of Coin, or Bullion, neither Gold or Silver; a " ſmall deal of Plate only excepted.

" Captain *Whitney* and *Woollaſtone* are but now come " to us, and now I purpoſe (God willing) without " Delay to viſit the Mine, which is not eight Miles " o m the Town. Sooner I could not go by Reaſon " of the Murmurings, the Diſcords and Vexations, " wherewith the Serjeant-Major is perpetually tor- " mented and tired, having no Man to aſſiſt him " but my ſelf only. Things are now in ſome reaſon- " able Order, and ſo ſoon as I have made Trial of " the Mine, I will ſeek to come to your Lordſhip, " by the Way of the River. To go and to ſearch " the Channels (that if it be poſſible) our Ships may " ſhorten the Courſe for *Trinidado*, when Time ſerves, " by thoſe Paſſages. I have ſent your Lordſhip a Par- " cel of ſcatter'd Papers (I reſerve a Cart Load) one " Roll of Tobacco, one Tortoiſe, and ſome Oranges " and Lemons, praying God to give you Strength " and Health of Body, and a Mind armed againſt all " Extremities. I reſt ever to be commanded this *8th* " of *January*, 1617."

Your Lordſhip's

KEYMIS.

Now

Now it ſeems that the Death of my Son, fearing alſo (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my firſt Sickneſs, or that the News of my Son's Death would have haſtened my End, made him reſolve not to open the Mine, to the which he added for Excuſe (and I think it was true,) that the *Spaniards* being gone off in a whole Body, lay in the Woods between the Mine and their Paſſage; it was impoſſible, except they had been beaten out of the Country, to paſs up the woody and craggy Hills, without the Loſs of thoſe Commanders which ſhould have led them, who had they been ſlain, the reſt, would eaſily enough have been cut in Pieces in their Retreat; for being in Poſſeſſion of the Town, which they guarded with the greateſt Part of three Companies, they had yet their Hands full to defend themſelves from firing, and the daily and nightly Alarms wherewith they were vexed. He alſo gave forth the Excuſe that it was impoſſible to lodge any Companies at the Mine, for Want of Victual, which from the Town they were not able to carry up the Mountain, their Companies being divided; he therefore as he told me, thinking it a greater Error to diſcover it to the *Spaniards*, themſelves neither being able to work it, nor poſſeſs it, than to excuſe himſelf to the Company, ſaid that he could not find it. All which his Fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen diſavowed his Ignorance; for I told him that a blind Man might find it, by the Marks which himſelf had ſet down under his Hand; then I told him that his Care of loſing ſo many Men in paſſing through the Woods, was but feigned; for after my Son was ſlain, I knew that he had no Care at all of any Man ſurviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred Weight of the Oar, though with the Loſs of one hundred Men, he had given his Majeſty Satisfaction, preſerved my Reputation, and given

our

our Nation Encouragement to have returned this next Year, with greater Force, and to have held the Country for his Majeſty; to whom it belonged, and of which himſelf had given the Teſtimony, that beſides the excellent Air, Pleaſantneſs, Healthfulneſs, and Riches, it hath Plenty of Corn, Fruits, Fiſh, Fowl, wild and tame, Beeves, Horſes, Sheep, Hogs, Deers, Coneys, Hares, Tortoiſes, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Honey, Wax, Potatoes, Sugar-Canes, Medicaments, Balſamum, Simples, Gums, and what not: but ſeeing he had followed his own Advice, and not mine, I ſhould be forced to leave him to the Arguments; with the which if he could ſatisfy his Majeſty, and the State, I ſhould be glad of it, though for my Part he muſt excuſe me to juſtify it, that he, if it had pleaſed him, though with ſome Loſs of Men, might have gone directly to the Place. With that he ſeemed greatly diſcontent, and ſo he continued divers Days; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and ſhewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundel*, to whom he excuſed himſelf, for not diſcovering of the Mine, uſing the ſame Arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his Obſtinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any Sort his former Folly. He then aſked me, whether that were my Reſolution, I anſwered, that it was: He then replied in theſe Words, I know not then, Sir, what Courſe to take; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, in which he was no ſooner entred but I heard a Piſtol go off. I ſent up (not ſuſpecting any ſuch thing as the killing of himſelf) to know who ſhot a Piſtol, *Keymis* himſelf made anſwer, lying on his Bed, that he had ſhot it off, becauſe it had been long charged, with which I was ſatisfied; ſome half Hour after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long Knife thruſt under his left Pap through his Heart, and his Piſtol lying by him,

him, with which it appeared that he had ſhot himſelf; but the Bullet lighting upon a Rib, had but broken the Rib, and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did alſo know that he was of that obſtinate Reſolution, and a Man ſo far from caring to pleaſe or ſatisfy any Man but myſelf, as no Man's Opinion from the greateſt to the leaſt, could have perſuaded him to have laid violent Hands on himſelf; neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have ſaid unto me, that he was ignorant of that Place, and knew no ſuch Mine; for what Cauſe had I then to have rejected his Excuſes, or to have laid his Obſtinacy to his Charge? Thus much I have added, becauſe there are ſome Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* ſlew himſelf becauſe he had ſeduced ſo many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Mine; but as his Letter to me the *8th* of *January* proves that he was then reſolved to open it, and to take off all theſe Kinds of Objections, let Captain *Charles Parker*, Captain *George Raleigh*, and Captain *King*, all living and in *England*, be put to their Oaths, whether or no *Keymis* did not confeſs to them coming down the River, at a Place where they caſt ancher, that he could from that Place have gone to the Mine in two Hours. I ſay then, that if the Opening of the Mine had been at that Time to any Purpoſe; or had they had any Victuals left then, to bring them away, or had they not been haſtened by ſeeing the King of *Spain's* Letters before they came to my Hands, which I am aſſured *Keymis* had ſeen, who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madrid* the *17th* of *March*, before I left the River *Thames*, and with it, three other Diſpatches, with a Commiſſion for the ſtrengthning of *Oroonoko* with one hundred and fifty Soldiers, which ſhould have come down the River from the new Kingdom of *Granada*; and one other, one hundred and fifty from *Puerto Rico*, with ten Pieces of Ordnance, which ſhould have come up the River from the Entrance, by which

which two Troops they might have been incloſed; I ſay, had not the reſt ſeen thoſe Diſpatches; and that having ſtayed in the River above two Months, they feared the hourly Arrival of thoſe Forces, why had they not conſtrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Mine, being, as himſelf confeſſes, within two Hours March. Again, had the Companies Commanders but pinched the Governor's Man whom they had in their Poſſeſſion, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mines and a Silver Mine, not above four Miles from the Town, and given them the Names of their Poſſeſſors; with the Reaſon why they forbore to work them at that Time, and when they left off from working them, which they did as well becauſe they wanted Negroes, as becauſe they feared leſt the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch* would have forced them from thoſe, being once thoroughly opened, having not ſufficient Strength to defend themſelves. But to this, I have heard it ſaid ſince my Return, that the Governor's Man was by me perſuaded, being in my Power, to ſay that ſuch Mines there were, when indeed there was no ſuch Thing. Certainly they were but ſilly Fools, that diſcovered this Subtilty of mine, who having not yet by the long Calenture that weakened me, loſt all my Wits, which I muſt have done, if I had left my Reputation in Truſt with a Mulatto, who for a Pot or two of Wine, for a Dozen of Hatchets, or a gay Suit of Apparel, would have confeſſed, that I had taught him to ſpeak of Mines, that were not in *Rerum Natura*. No, I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that without any other Agreements, or Promiſe of mine, than well Uſage, he hath diſcovered to me the Way to five or ſix of the richeſt Mines which the *Spaniards* have, and from whence all the Maſs of Gold that comes into *Spain* in Effect is drawn.

Laſtly, when the Ships were come down the River, as far as *Carapana*'s Country (who was one of the natural Lords) and one that reſerved that Part of *Guiana*

to

to her Majeſty, hearing that the *Engliſh* had abandoned St. *Thome*, and left no Force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done; he ſent a great Canoo, with ſtore of Fruits and Proviſions to the Captains, and by one of his Men which ſpake *Spaniſh*, having as it ſeemed been long in their Hands, he offered them a rich Gold Mine in his own Country, knowing it to be the beſt Argument to perſuade their Stay; and if it pleaſed them to ſend up any one of the *Engliſh* to view it, he would leave ſufficient Pledges for his ſafe Return; Maſter *Leake*, Maſter *Moleneux*, and others offering themſelves. Which when the greater Part refuſed (I know not by what Reaſon led) he ſent again, (leaving one of his Men ſtill aboard) to entreat them to tarry but two Days, and he himſelf would come to them, and bring them a Sample of the Ore; for he was an exceeding old Man, when I was firſt in the Country ſome twenty four Years ſince: Which being alſo neglected, and the Ships under ſail, he notwithſtanding ſent a Boat after them to the very Mouth of the River, in Hope to perſuade them. That this is true, witneſs Captain *Parker*, Captain *Leake*, Maſter *Streſham*, Maſter *Maudict*, Maſter *Moleneux*, Maſter *Robert Hamon*, Maſter *Nicholes*, Captain *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others. But to ſet aſide his Offer alſo, there hath not been wanting an Argument, though a fooliſh one; which was, that the *Spaniards* had employed the *Indians* with a Purpoſe to betray our Men. But this Treaſon had been eaſily prevented, if they had ſtaid the old Man's coming, who would have brought them the Gold Ore aboard their Ships; and what Purpoſe could there be of Treaſon, when the *Guianians* offered to leave Pledges ſix for one? Yea, one of the *Indians* which the *Engliſh* had aboard them, whom they found in Fetters when they took the Town of St. *Thome*, could have told them, that the *Caſſique* which ſent unto them to ſhew them the Gold Mine in his Country, was unconquered, and

and an Enemy to the *Spaniard*, and could alſo have aſſured them, that this *Caſſique* had Gold Mines in his Country.

I ſay then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to go to the Mine, when he was by his own Confeſſion within two Hours March of it, to examine from whence theſe two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for King's *quinto* or fifth Part, or thoſe ſmall Pieces of Silver, which had the ſame Marks and Stamps: if they refuſed to ſend any one of the Fleet into the Country to ſee the Mines which the *Caſſique Carapana* offered them: if they would not vouchſafe to ſtay two Days for the coming of *Carapana* himſelf, who would have brought them a Sample of the Gold Ore: I ſay, that there is no Reaſon to lay it to my Charge, that I carried them with a Pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor myſelf knew of any in thoſe Parts. If it had been to have gotten my Liberty, why did I not keep my Liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my Life in manifeſt Peril to forego it? If I had had a Purpoſe to have turned Pirate, why did I oppoſe myſelf againſt the greateſt Number of my Company, and was thereby in Danger to be ſlain or caſt into the Sea, becauſe I refuſed it?

A ſtrange Fancy had it been in me to have perſuaded my Son whom I have loſt, and to have perſuaded my Wife to have adventured the eight thouſand Pound which his Majeſty gave them for *Sherborne*, and when that was ſpent, to perſuade my Wife to ſell her Houſe at *Mitcham*, in Hope of enriching them by the Mines of *Guiana*; if I myſelf had not ſeen them with my own Eyes; for being old and weakly, thirteen Years in Priſon, and not uſed to the Air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I ſhould ever have returned, and of which by Reaſon of my violent Sickneſs, and the long Continuance thereof, no Man had any Hope; what Madneſs could have

have made me undertake this Journey, but the Aſſurance of the Mine, thereby to have done his Majeſty Service, to have bettered my Country by the Trade, and to have reſtored my Wife and Children their States they had loſt, for which, I have refuſed all other Ways or Means; for that I had no Purpoſe to have changed my Maſter, and my Country, my Return in the State I did return, may ſatisfy every honeſt and indifferent Man.

An unfortunate Man I am, and it is to me a greater Loſs than all I have loſt, that it pleaſeth his Majeſty to be offended for the burning of a *Spaniſh* Town in *Guiana*; of which theſe Parts bordering the River of *Oroonoko*, and to the South as far as the *Amazones*, doth by the Law of Nations belong to the Crown of *England*, as his Majeſty was well reſolved when I prepared to go thither; otherwiſe his Majeſty would not have given once Leave to have landed there; for I ſet it down under my Hand, that I intended that Enterprize, and nothing elſe; and that I meant to enter the Country by the River *Oroonoko*; and it was not held to be a Breach of Peace neither by the State here, nor the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who knew it as well as I, that I pretended the Journey of *Guiana*, which he always held to be a Pretence; for he ſaid it to Maſter Secretary *Windode*, and to others of my Lords, that if I meant to ſail to *Guiana*, and had no Intent to invade any Part of his Majeſty's Weſt *Indies*, nor his Fleets, I ſhould not need to ſtrengthen myſelf as I did, for I ſhould work any Mine there, without any Diſturbance, and in Peace. To which I made Anſwer, that I had ſet it under my Hand to his Majeſty, that I had no other Purpoſe, nor meant to undertake any Thing elſe; but for the reſt, that Sir *John Hawkins*, in his Journey to St. *John de Loa*, notwithſtanding that he had Leave of the *Spaniſh* King to trade in all Parts of the Weſt *Indies*, and having the Plate Fleet in his Power, did not take out of it one Ounce of Silver, but

kept

kept his Faith and Promiſe in all Places, was ſet upon by Don *Henrico de Martines*, whom he ſuffered (to ſave him from periſhing) to enter the Port upon *Martin's* Faith, and interchanged Pledges delivered; he had *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, a Ship of her Majeſty's of a thouſand Tun, burnt; had his Men ſlain which he left on the Land; loſt his Ordnance, and all the Treaſure which he had got by Trade. What Reaſon had I to go unarm'd upon the Ambaſſor's Promiſes, whoſe Words and Thoughts that they were one, it hath well appeared ſince then, as well by the Forces which he perſuaded his Maſter to ſend to *Guiana*, to encounter me, and cut me off there, as by his perſecuting me ſince my Return; who have neither invaded his Maſter's *Indies*, nor his Fleet, whereof he ſtood in doubt.

True it is, that the *Spaniards* cannot endure that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould look upon any Part of *America*, being above a fourth Part of the whole known World; and the hundredth Part neither poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, nor to them known, as *Acoſta* the Jeſuit, in his Deſcription of the Weſt *Indies* doth confeſs, and well knows to be true: No, though the King of *Spain* can pretend no other Title to all that he hath not conquer'd, than the *Pope*'s Donation, for from the Straights of *Magellan* to the River of *Plate*, being a greater Territory than all that the *Spaniards* poſſeſs in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from Cape St. *Auguſtine* to *Trinidado*, being a greater Extent of Land than all which he poſſeſſes in *Nova Spain*, or elſewhere, they have not one Foot of Ground in their Poſſeſſion, neither for the greateſt Part of it ſo much as in their own Knowledge.

In *Oroonoko* they have lately ſet up a wooden Town, and made a Kind of a Fort, but they have never been able either to conquer the *Guianians*, nor to reconcile them; but the *Guianians* before their planting there did willingly reſign all that Territory to her Majeſty, who by me promiſed to receive them, and defend them againſt the *Spaniards*. And though

I were

I were a Priſoner for this laſt fourteen Years, yet I was at the Charge every Year, or every ſecond Year, to ſend unto them to keep them in Hope of being relieved. And, as I have ſaid before, the greateſt of the natural Lords, did offer us a a rich Mine of Gold in his own Country in Hope to hold us there. And if this uſurped Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards* be a ſufficient Bar to his Majeſty's Right, and that thereby the King of *Spain* calls himſelf King of *Guiana*, why might he not as well call himſelf Duke of *Brittain*, becauſe he took Poſſeſſion of *Blewet*, and built a Fort there, and calls himſelf King of *Ireland*, becauſe he took Poſſeſſion at *Smereck* and built a Fort there.

If the Ambaſſador had proteſted to his Majeſty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a Breach to the Peace, I am perſuaded that his Majeſty, if he had not been reſolved that *Guiana* had been his, would have ſtayed me, but if it be not thought to be a Breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) becauſe I had no other Intent, and went with leave; but for taking and burning of a *Spaniſh* Town in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spain*'s, it had been no leſs a Breach of Peace to have wrought any Mine of his, and to have robbed him of his Gold, than it is now call'd a Breach of Peace to take a Town of his in *Guiana*, and burn it: and with as good Reaſon might I have been called a Thief and a Robber of the King of *Spain*, if the Country be not his Majeſty's, as I am now purſued for the Invaſion; for either the Country is the King of *Spain*'s or the King's; if it be the King's, I have not then offended; if it be not the King's, I muſt have periſhed, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mines there, though I had found no *Spaniards* in the Country.

For Concluſion, if we had had any Peace with the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts of the World, why did even thoſe *Spaniards*, which were now encountered in *Gu-*

iana, tye ſix and thirty *Engliſh* Men out of Maſter *Wall*'s Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their Throats, after they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them aſhore, having not ſo much as a Sword, or any other Weapon, among them all? And if the *Spaniards* to our Complaints made anſwer, that there was nothing in the Treaty againſt our trading in the *Indies*, but that we might trade at our Peril; I truſt in God that the Word Peril ſhall ever be conſtrued to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwiſe we muſt for ever abandon the *Indies*, and loſe all our Knowledge, and our Pilotage of that Part of the World. If we have no other Peace than this how can there be a Breach of Peace? Since the *Spaniards* with all Nations, and all Nations with them, may trade upon their guard.

The readieſt Way that the *Spaniards* Ambaſſador could have taken, to have ſtayed me from going to *Guiana*, had been to have diſcovered the great Practices, which I had with his Maſter againſt the King my ſovereign Lord in the firſt Year of his Majeſty's Reign of *Great Britain*, for which I loſt my Eſtate and lay thirteen Years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my Offences in *Guiana*; to which his Maſter hath no Title other than his Sword, with which to this Day he hath not conquered the leaſt of theſe Nations, and againſt whom, contrary to the Catholick Profeſſion, his Captains have entertained, and do entertain whole Nations of Cannibals. For in a Letter of the Governors to the King of *Spain*, of the eighth of *July*, he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Arms againſt him, but that even thoſe *Indians* which under their Noſes live, do in Deſpight of all the King's Edicts trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleſes Enemicos*, with the *Flemiſh*, and *Engliſh Enemies*, never once naming the *Engliſh* Nations but with the Epithet of an Enemy.

But

But in Truth the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador hath complained againſt me to no other End, than to prevent my Complaints againſt the *Spaniards*, who landing my Men in a Territory appertaining to the Crown of *England*, they were invaded and ſlain before any Violence offered to the *Spaniards*; and I hope that the Ambaſſador doth not eſteem us for ſo wretched and miſerable a People, as to offer our Throats to their Swords without any Manner of Reſiſtance. Howſoever, I have ſaid it already, and I will ſay it again, that if *Guiana* be not his Majeſty's, the Working of a Mine there, and the taking of a Town there, had been equally perilous; for by doing the one, I had robbed the King of *Spain*, and been a Thief; and by the other, a Diſturber or Breaker of the Peace.

A Letter of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH *to my Lord* CAREW *touching* Guiana.

" BEcauſe I know not whether I ſhall live to come
" before the Lords, I have for his Majeſty's Sa-
" tisfaction here ſet down as much as I can ſay, ei-
" ther for mine own Defence, or againſt myſelf, as
" Things are now conſtrued.

" It is true, that though I acquainted his Majeſty
" with my Intent to land in *Guiana*, yet I never made
" it known to his Majeſty that the *Spaniards* had any
" footing there; neither had I any Authority by Pa-
" tent, to remove them from thence, and therefore
" his Majeſty had no Intereſt in the Attempt of Saint
" *Thome*, by any Foreknowledge in his Majeſty.

" But knowing his Majeſty's Title to the Country
" to be beſt, and moſt Chriſtian, becauſe the natural
" Lords did moſt willingly acknowledge Queen *Eli-*
" *zabeth* to be their Sovereign, who by me promiſed
" to defend them from the *Spaniſh* Cruelty, I made

" no Doubt but I might enter the Land by Force, " ſeeing the *Spaniards* had no other Title but Force, " (the *Pope*'s Donation excepted) conſidering alſo that " they had got a Poſſeſſion there divers Years ſince " my Poſſeſſion for the Crown of *England*; for were not " *Guiana* his Majeſty's, then might I as well have been " queſtioned for a Thief, for taking the Gold out of " the King of *Spain*'s Mines, as the *Spaniards* do now " call me a Peace-breaker; for, from any Territory " that belongs to the King of *Spain*, it is no more " lawful to take Gold, than lawful for the *Spaniards* " to take Tin out of *Cornwall*. Were this Poſſeſſion " of theirs a ſufficient Bar to his Majeſty's Right, the " Kings of *Spain* may as well call themſelves Dukes " of *Brittain*, becauſe they held *Blewet*, and for- " tified there, and Kings of *Ireland* becauſe they " poſſeſſed *Smereck* and fortified there, and ſo in other " Places.

" That his Majeſty was well reſolved of his Right " there, I make no kind of Doubt, becauſe the " *Engliſh* both under Maſter *Charles Leigh* and Maſter " *Harecourt* had leave to plant and inhabit the Coun- " try.

" The *Oroonoko* itſelf, had long ere this had five " thouſand *Engliſh* in it, I aſſure myſelf, had not my " Employment at *Cales*, the next Year after my Re- " turn from *Guiana*, and after that our Journey to the " Iſlands hindered me for thoſe two Years, after which " *Tiron*'s Rebellion, made her Majeſty unwilling " that any great Number of Ships or Men ſhould be " taken out of *England*, till that Rebellion were end- " ed. And laſtly, her Majeſty's Death, and my long " Impriſonment, gave Time to the *Spaniards* to ſet up " a Town of Sticks covered with Leaves of Trees " upon the Bank of *Oroonoko*, which they call St. " *Thome*; but they have neither reconciled nor con- " quered any of the *Caſſiques* or natural Lords of the " Country, which *Caſſiques* are ſtill in Arms againſt " them,

" them, as by the Governor's Letter to the King of " *Spain*, may appear. That by landing in *Guiana* " there can be any Breach of Peace, I think it (under " Favour) impoſſible; for to break Peace where there " is no Peace, it cannot be; that the *Spaniards* give " us no Peace there, it doth appear by the King's " Letters to the Governor, that they ſhould put to " Death all thoſe *Spaniards* and *Indians* that trade " *Con los Engleſes Enemigos*, with *Engliſh* Enemies. Yea " thoſe very *Spaniards* which we encountred at St. " *Thome*, did of late Years murther ſix and thirty " of Maſter *Hale*'s Men of *London*, and mine, who " landed without Weapon, upon the *Spaniard*'s Faith " to trade with them. Maſter *Thorne* alſo in *Tower-* " *ſtreet* in *London*, beſides many other *Engliſh* were in " like Sort murthered in *Oroonoko*, the Year before " my Delivery out of the *Tower*.

" Now if this Kind of Trade be peaceable, there " is then a peaceable Trade in the *Indies*, between us " and the *Spaniards*; but if this be cruel War and Ha- " tred, and no Peace, then there is no Peace broken " by our Attempt. Again, how doth it ſtand with the " Greatneſs of the King of *Spain*, firſt to call us Ene- " mies, when he did hope to cut us in Pieces, and " then having failed, to call us Peace-breakers: For to " be an Enemy and a Peace-breaker in one and the " ſame Action is impoſſible.

" But the King of *Spain* in his Letter to the Go- " vernor of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrid* the 29*th* of " *March*, before we left the Thames, calls us *Engleſes* " *Enemigos*, *Engliſh* Enemies.

" If it had pleaſed the King of *Spain* to have written " to his Majeſty in ſeven Months Time, for we were " ſo long in preparing, and have made his Majeſty " know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after " it a Breach of Peace, I preſume to think that his " Majeſty would have ſtaid our Enterprize for the " preſent.

" This he might have done with leſs Charge, than " to leavy three hundred Soldiers, and tranſport ten " Pieces of Ordnance from *Porto Rico*, which Soldiers " added to the Garriſon of St. *Thome*, had they ar- " rived before our coming, had overthrown all our " raw Companies, and there would have followed no " Complaints.

" For the main Point of landing near St. *Thome*, " it is true, that we were of Opinion, that we muſt " have driven the *Spaniards* out of the Town, before " we could paſs the thick Woods upon the Moun- " tains to the Mine; which I confeſs I did firſt reſolve " upon, but better bethinking my ſelf, I referred the " taking of the Town, to the Goodneſs of the Mine, " which if they found to be ſo rich, as it might per- " ſuade the leaving of the Garriſon, than to drive the " *Spaniards* thence; but to have burnt was never my " Intent, neither could they give me any Reaſon why " they did. Upon their Return, I examined the " Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not " my laſt Directions for the Trial of the Mine before " the taking of the Town; and they anſwered me, " that although they durſt hardly go to the Mine, " leaving a Garriſon of *Spaniards* between them " and their Boats, yet they offended their latter Di- " rections, and did land between the Town and " the Mine.

" And that the *Spaniards* without any Manner of " Parly ſet upon them unawares, and charged them, " calling them *Perros Ingleſes*, and by ſkirmiſhing with " them, they drew them on to the very Entrance of " the Town before they knew where they were; ſo " that if any Peace had been in thoſe Parts, the *Spa-* " *niards* firſt brake the Peace, and made the firſt " Slaughter; for as the *Engliſh* could not but land to " ſeek the Mine, being come thither to that End, " ſo being firſt reviled, and charged by the *Spaniards*,

" they could do no leſs than repel Force by Force.
" Laſtly, it is a Matter of no ſmall Conſequence to
" acknowledge that we have offended the King of
" *Spain* by landing in *Guiana*. For firſt it weakens
" his Majeſty's Title to the Country, or quits it; ſe-
" condly, there is no King that hath ever given the
" leaſt Way to any other King or State in the Traffick
" of the Lives or Goods of his Subjects; to wit, in
" our Caſe, that it ſhall be lawful for the *Spaniards* to
" murther us, either by Force or Treaſon, and un-
" lawful for us to defend ourſelves and pay them with
" their own Coin; for this Superiority and Inferiority
" is a Thing which no abſolute Monarch ever yielded
" to, or ever will.

" Thirdly, it ſhews the *Engliſh* bears greater Re-
" ſpect to the *Spaniard*, and is more doubtful of his
" Forces, than either the *French* or *Dutch* is, who
" daily invade all Parts of the *Indies* without being
" queſtioned at their Return. Yea, at my own being
" at *Plimouth*, a *French* Gentleman, called *Flory*, went
" thence with four ſail, and three hundred Land
" Men, with Commiſſion to land and burn, and to
" ſack all Places in the *Indies* that he could maſter,
" and yet the *French* King hath married the Daugh-
" ter of *Spain*.

" This is all that I can ſay, other than that I
" have ſpent my poor Eſtate, loſt my Son, and my
" Health, and endured as many Sorts of Miſeries,
" as ever Man did, in Hope to do his Majeſty ac-
" ceptable Service; and have not to my Underſtanding
" committed any hoſtile Act, other than Entrance
" upon a Territory belonging rightly to the Crown
" of *England*, where the *Engliſh* were firſt ſet upon
" and ſlain by the uſurping *Spaniards*. I invaded
" no other Parts of the *Indies*, pretended to by the
" *Spaniards*.

" I returned into *England* with manifeſt Peril " of my Life, with a Purpoſe not to hold my Life " with any other than his Majeſty's Grace, and from " which no Man, nor any Peril could diſſuade me; " to that Grace, and Goodneſs, and Kinglineſs I " refer myſelf, which if it ſhall find that I have not " yet ſuffered enough, it yet may pleaſe to add more " Affliction to the Remainder of a wretched Life.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH *his Anſwer to ſome Things at his Death.*

" I. Did never receive any Direction from my Lord " *Carew*, to make any Eſcape, nor did I ever tell " *Stukely* my ſuch Thing. I did never name my Lord " *Hay* and my Lord *Carew* to *Stukely* in other Words " or Senſe, than as my honourable Friends, among " other Lords. I did never ſhew unto *Stukely* any Let- " ter, wherein there was ten thouſand Pounds named " or any one Pound; only I told him, that I hoped " to procure the Payment of his Debts in his Abſence. " I never had Commiſſion from the *French* King, I " never ſaw the *French* King's Hand or Seal in my " Life. I never had any Plot or Practice with the " *French* directly or indirectly, nor with any other " Prince or State unknown to the King. My true " Intent was to go to a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*; it " was not feigned, but it is true, that ſuch a Mine " there is within three Miles of St. *Thome*. I never " had in my thought to go from *Trinidado*, and leave " my Companies to come after to the Savage Iſland, " as *Hatby Fearne* hath falſely reported. I did not " carry with me an hundred Pieces, I had with me " ſixty, and brought back near the ſaid Number. I " never ſpake to the *French Manering* any one diſ- " loyal Word, or diſhonourable Speech of the King; " nay,

" nay, if I had not loved the King truly, and truſted " in his Goodneſs ſomewhat too much, I know that " I had not now ſuffered Death.

" Theſe Things are moſt true as there is a God, " and as I am now to appear before his tribunal " Seat, where I renounce all Mercy, and Salvation, if " this be not the Truth. At my Death.

W. R.

An INTRODUCTION to a

BREVIARY

OF THE

Hiſtory of *ENGLAND*

WITH THE

REIGN

OF

King *William* the Iſt,

Entitled the

CONQUEROR.

THE PREFACE OF THE FIRST PUBLISHER.

THIS *Life of* William the Conqueror, *writ by Sir* Walter Raleigh, *was found in the Library of a Perſon of high Quality. Whoſoever hath been converſant in the Works of that accompliſh'd Knight, and a little acquainted with his great Genius and Spirit, and his manly and unaffected Stile, will make no Doubt, but what here is preſented unto the World was his genuine Iſſue.*

For the comprehenſive and penetrating Thoughts, the lively Imagination, and the mature and exact Judgment of Sir Walter Raleigh, *do all manifeſtly appear in this ſmall Treatiſe.*

It may be Matter of ſome Wonder, that a Work filled with ſuch a Number of judicious Reflections upon the Nature of Government in General, and ſo many wiſe Obſervations relating to the particular State of our own Country, ſhould have been thus long condemn'd to Obſcurity,

ſcurity, had not an ill Fate attended the learned Compoſitions, as well as the brave Actions of this renowned Gentleman.

But by what unhappy Accident ſoever it hath been hitherto confined to Privacy, it was thought it would be an Injury to the publick any longer to conceal a juſt and true Account of the Reign of William the Firſt, *wherein ſo many remarkable Matters, and great Revolutions happened, and to which the Writers of Government and Policy in our Nation have very frequent Recourſe; ſince the Tranſactions of that Time, unto which they ſo commonly appeal, are here related with that Faithfulneſs, Brevity, and Clearneſs, that become an exact Hiſtorian.*

A

BREVIARY

OF THE

Hiſtory of *ENGLAND*;

Beginning at the REIGN of

WILLIAM the Iſt.

ENTITLED the CONQUEROR.

The *INTRODUCTION.*

§ 1.

I Intend by the Help of God, and your Furtherance (Right Noble Earl of *Salisbury*) to write a brief Hiſtory of *England*, from *William* I. entitled the Conqueror, to the End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of perpetual Memory: A Work difficult, as well for the Antiquity, as the Latelineſs of Things done; the one bereaving our Knowledge of the certain Counſels held in the managing of Buſineſs

Buſineſs ſo long paſt; the other not allowing our Underſtanding the inward and particular Motives of ſuch Actions, as are ſo near us. Yet according to my Collections out of thoſe antient Remains that are left unto the World, and the Conferences, Acts, and Inſtruments of later Times, I will deliver the Succeſſion and Courſe of our Affairs, inſomuch as ſhall be fit for the publick Underſtanding, without Paſſion or Partiality; endeavouring to be of no other Side than of Truth, as it ſhall appear to my Apprehenſion.

§ 2. And though I had a Deſire to have deduced this Hiſtory from the Beginning of our firſt Kings, as they are delivered in their Catalogue; yet finding their Actions uncertainly delivered, and the Beginning of all eminent States to be as uncertain, as the Heads of great Rivers; and that idle Antiquity, diſcovering no apparent Way beyond their Times, have ever delighted to point Men out into imaginary Tracts of Fictions, and monſtrous Originals; I did put off that Deſire with this Conſideration, that this Space of five hundred Years, which comprehends the Government of twenty Kings, and two ſovereign Queens, was more than enough for my Leiſure, and Ability; weighing withal, that it is but mere Curioſity to look further back into the Times paſt, than we can well diſcern, and whereof we can neither have Proof nor Profit. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God in his Providence hath bounded our Searches within the Compaſs of a few Ages, as if the ſame were ſufficient, both for Example and Inſtruction in the Government of Men: For had we the particular Occurrents of all Nations, and all Ages, it might more ſtuff, but not better our Underſtanding. We ſhall find the ſame Correſpondencies to hold in the Actions of Men; Virtues and Vices the ſame; though riſing and falling according to the Worth, or Weakneſs of Governors; the Cauſes of the Ruins, and Changes of Commonwealths to be alike, and the Train

Train of Affairs carried by the Precedent in a Courſe of Succeſſion under like Figures.

§ 3. But yet, for that this Chain of Affairs hath a Link of Dependency to the former Times, it ſhall not be amiſs, briefly to repeat the three Mutations in the State foregoing this laſt Conqueſt, ſince the Time that Letters and Chriſtianity were here received, which left more certain Knowledge of Things done, though not in that Sort, as we can aſſuredly learn, either the Form of the *Britiſh* Government under their Kings, or by what Rule, they held together; whether their petty Princes (whereof they had many) were ſubject to one Monarch, or all Sovereign alike; whether any Parties did cantonize, or were free Eſtates, or Common-wealths, as peradventure they might be, as well as the *Gauls*, with whom they were one in Language, or the *Germans*, antient Precedents of like Liberties. For no Doubt, the ſame Neceſſity that is the Mother of Society, and Contriver of Men's Defences, and Safeties, finds out like Forms of Government, in like Times, upon like Occaſions. But inſomuch, as is delivered in theſe uncertain Antiquities, we find, this Iſle was never, or never long ſubject to one entire Monarch, but ruled by divers Kings.

§ 4. And ſo *Cæſar* found it; and thereby found the eaſier Means to ſubdue it; which was the firſt Diſſolution of the State, after it had remained under the Government of the *Britons* (as ſay our Stories) one thouſand and ſixty Years, from *Brutus* to *Caſſibalan*. And yet the State then ſeem'd by this Conqueſt, to loſe little, beſides their ſavage Liberty, being reduced to civil Subjection; for the Vanquiſher ſought not to extirpate the Nation, but to maintain and improve it. And under this Government it remained almoſt five hundred Years, until the Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire in the Time of *Theodoſius*; when it became neglected, and recovered again the State of the King-

dom under Princes partly *Britiſh* and partly *Romans*; which by Reaſon of continual Tumults and Mutinies, ſeemed never to have held any calm or flouriſhing Government worthy the obſerving; and in the End *Vortigern* an Earl of the * *Guiſſes*, abuſing the Weakneſs of *Conſtantius*, ſupplanted him, and obtained the Kingdom: Which the better to keep againſt *Aurelius* and *Pendragon* the Sons of *Conſtantius*, and alſo to oppoſe againſt the Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots*, he called in the *Saxons* to his Aid.

§ 5. Who entring this Land under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſus*, gave the Occaſion of the ſecond, and indeed the moſt abſolute Diſſolution of the State. For *Vortigern*, to eſtabliſh the Kingdom in his own Line, and (as he thought to ſtrengthen himſelf with theſe Strangers, took to Wife † *Renix*, the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, (his own Wife living:) And by his Dotage on her, being a beautiful Lady, who knew to take the Advantage of his Love, gave the *Saxons* thoſe Preferments in the State, as the *Britons*, neglected by him, ſoon became a Prey unto them: This Alliance, and the Fertility of the Land, letting in ſo many of this populous, and warlike Nation, that e're Men ſcarce perceived their Danger, they were undone: And notwithſtanding the Combination of the *Britiſh* Nobility, with the depoſing of *Vortigern*, and electing King his Son *Vortimer*, a valiant Prince, who gave them many ſtout Battles; yet could they not prevail againſt the *Saxons* thus eſtabliſhed, but were forced to quit their Country, and betake themſelves to remote Mountains, and Deſerts, leaving all to the Invaders; who after many Fortunes, dividing the Land into ſeven Kingdoms, extinguiſhed both the Religion, Language, and even the Name thereof. And in this Heptarchy it continued, till *Egbert*, King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, *An.* 828, being three hun-

* *Cornwall. Bede* I. 14. † *Rowena.*

dred

dred fifty Years after their Entrance, ſubduing the other Kings, obtained the whole Dominion to himſelf; and to raze out the Memory of a Diviſion, cauſed by an Edict the whole Kingdom to be called *England*, of the *Angles*, a People that poſſeſt the middle Part of this Iſland.

§ 6. But neither he, nor his Succeſſors, quietly enjoyed it: For the *Danes*, having been firſt called in to aid the King of *Northumberland* againſt the other Kings, ſorely infeſted the Land; and combining themſelves with the *Welſh* and *Scots*, prevailed ſo much, that from the Reign of King *Britrick*, *Anno* 387, they continued to afflict the ſame the Space of two hundred fifty five Years; and in the End by the negligent and ill Government of King *Ethelred*, whoſe Luxury and Oppreſſion had made way for Diviſion, they got the abſolute Dominion of the Kingdom, and held it twenty ſix Years by three of their Kings ſucceſſively; *Canutus* governed it twenty Years, and left it to *Harold*, who reigned two Years; *Canutus* the ſecond ſucceeded his Brother *Harold*, and at a Banquet at *Lambeth*, either by Surfeit or Poiſon died in the ſecond Year of his Reign: When ſtraight the People of the Land, by a ſudden and general Maſſacre, redeemed themſelves from that odious Yoke of a foreign Subjection: Which was held to be the third Diſſolution of this State. But I cannot ſee, how it ſhould be ſo accounted, ſeeing that this *Canutus*, never altered the Government, but embraced the ſame Religion, maintained the Laws he found, and added many Conſtitutions for the Good of the Kingdom. And to get into the People's Affections, he married *Emma*, ſometimes Wife to King *Ethelred*, and Daughter to *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*; to whom, for his better Strength, he had likewiſe given his Siſter to Wife: And then the ſhort Time of the Government in the Succeſſion of his two Sons, ſeems not to have bred any great Alteration in the State of the Kingdom;

dom, but only in the Change of the Perſon of the Prince, and the Preferment of his Nation before ours; which, by Reaſon of the long foregoing Wars, were made incompatible of each other.

§ 7. But yet this gave the Cauſe to that great, and laſt Mutation of State, effected by the *Norman*. For King *Ethelred*, to make his Party good againſt the Invaſion of the *Danes*, combined himſelf with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, married his Siſter *Emma*, and by her had Iſſue *Edward*, after King of *England*, entitled *the Confeſſor*; who with his Brother were there brought up out of the Dangers of the Wars, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Duke reconveyed over, after the Death of the laſt *Canutus*, and here inveſted in the Kingdom. For which Offices of Kindneſs divers Preferments were in Way of Gratification, beſtowed on the *Normans*; as the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and other eſpecial Places and Dignities eccleſiaſtical, in a Manner throughout the whole Land; which prepared an eaſier Paſſage for the Invaſion following; when the Death of this good King *Edward*, without Iſſue to inherit, left the Succeſſion doubtful, or elſe by the Iniquity of Times made it ſeem ſo. For *Edgar* ſurnamed *Atheling*, Son of *Edward* the Son of King *Edmond Ironſide*, had his Claim neglected; either in Reſpect of his Youth, which yet was no Bar to his Right; or for Want of Means, and Power to oppoſe againſt the Ambition of others; who having ſwayed the Fortune of the Time, under an eaſy-natured Prince, had Opportunity enough to work for themſelves; although the Worthineſs of his Grandfather, ſhewed in the Defence of his Country, might ſeem to deſerve to have his Iſſue remembred in their Right.

§ 8. But the Earl *Godwin*, what in Reſpect that King *Edward* had matched with his Daughter, and what with his own Greatneſs and Popularity, having long managed the State of the Kingdom, made the Aſcent eaſy for *Harold* his Son to get up to the Crown; and

and by croſſing the right Line of Succeſſion, called up Deſtruction and Miſery, both upon his own Race, and the whole Kingdom; for though *Harold* had a Shew of Title, as being the Son of * *Thira*, Siſter to *Canutus* King of *England*; yet ſeeing all the Land had received an Oath upon the Maſſacre and Expulſion of the *Danes*, never to have any King of that Nation to reign over them, it might ſeem no lawful Claim. But yet the Favour of the People, which both his Perſon and Valour had gotten, with the Neceſſity of the Time that required a Man of Spirit and Courage, to undertake the Burden of War, and the Trouble which the World (they ſaw) was like to grow into, caſt it upon him, with Hope to keep out the Miſery of a foreign Subjection, and the Inſolency of Strangers.

§ 8. But the whole Courſe of Things being overcaſt, and ſet for Storms, and Alteration, could not by any Providence of Men be prevented. Though this new King (who is ſaid to have crowned himſelf) uſed all the Means that a wiſe and valiant Prince could do, both for the well ordering of the State, and all Proviſions for Defence; yet the disjointed Affections of Men, tending to their private Ends, and working ſeveral Ways to get up to their Hopes, either left the Ship of the State, which contained them all, to the Mercy of the Waves, and every Man caſt to ſave himſelf, where the greateſt Likelihood of Maſtery appeared; or elſe diſtracted with the Terror of the approaching Miſchief, failed in their Spirits and Courage to withſtand it; for the Diligence of Men becomes often daſhed with their Fear in public Tumults, and with the very Cogitation of the Evil to come.

§ 9. And the firſt Man which began to afflict his new Government, was his own younger Brother, *Toſty*; † who for a former conceived Hatred, was ea-

* Githa, *Siſter to* Swain. Dan. † *Tomſtain* D.

ſily ſet on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, (whoſe Daughter he had married) to aſſail the Iſle of *Wight*, and to prepare the Way for the great After-work intended. And having done much Miſchief on the Coaſt of *Kent*, *Harold* with a ſtrong Navy forced him to draw towards the North Parts; where ſeeking to land, he was repulſed by the Earls *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and forced to look Aid of the *Scots*, and after of the King of *Norway*, whom he induced to invade this Kingdom with great Store of Men and Shipping. Theſe landing at *Tinmouth*, and diſcomfiting their firſt Encounterers, marched into the Heart of *England* without Reſiſtance. But being come near to *Stamford*, King *Harold* with a mighty Army met them; and after a long Fight, with the Loſs of much Blood, and his beſt Men, he finiſhed that Action with the Death of *Toſty*, and the King of *Norway*.

§ 10. But from hence was he called with his wearied and broken Forces to a more fatal Buſineſs in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy*, pretending a Right to the Crown of *England*, both by the Teſtament of the late King *Edward*, and alſo by Parentage; upon the Advantage of the Time, and the Diſfurniſhments of thoſe Parts, landed at *Haſtings*; near to which Place was fought that bloody Battle, wherein *Harold* valiantly fighting amidſt his Enemies, ended his Life and Reign, which was ſcarce of one Year; and the *Engliſh*, with the Loſs of twenty thouſand Men, and the Flower of the Kingdom, became the miſerable Prey of the *Normans*.

§ 11. But how ſo great a State as this, could be with one Blow ſubdued by ſo ſmall a Province in ſuch Sort, as it could never after come to make any general Head againſt the Conqueror, may ſeem ſtrange, and conſiderable: But the Circumſtances, with the Diſpoſition of that Time, as may be collected from the Writers, that lived near it, may ſomewhat, though

not

not altogether, ſatisfy us in that Point. For they ſay, the People of the Kingdom were (by their being ſecure from their foreign Enemies the *Danes*, and their long Peace, which had held in a Manner from the Death of *Edmond Ironſide*, the Space of fifty Years,) grown neglective of Arms, and generally debauched with Luxury and Idleneſs; the Clergy licentious, and only *Literaturâ tumultuariâ contenti*, *Scholæ*, *non vitæ diſcebant*, ſaith *Malmesbury*; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppreſſion; the common Sort to Drunkenneſs and all Diſorder. And they ſay, that in the laſt Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, the braveſt Men periſhed: And himſelf growing inſolent after the Victory, retaining the Spoils without Diſtribution to the Soldiers, made them diſcontent and unruly; or peradventure being not inured to be commanded by martial Diſcipline, they were of themſelves unmanagable; and that coming to the Battle of *Haſtings* with many mercenary Men, and a diſcontented Army, there was not that Valour and Reſolution ſhewed, as was meet in ſo important an Occaſion. Beſides, the *Normans* had a peculiar Militia, or Fight with Bows and Arrows, wherein they were excellently practiſed; and the *Engliſh*, unacquainted with that Weapon, were altogether unprovided for that Defence. And thus they excuſe the Shame of our Nation.

THE REIGN OF *WILLIAM* the Iſt.

I.

§ 12. BY theſe Advantages *William*, the baſe Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, having gotten the Victory in the Battle near *Haſtings*, marched without any Oppoſition towards *London*: Where the Earls *Edwin*, and *Morcar* Brothers of eminent Dignity and Reſpect in the Kingdom, laboured with all their Power in ſolliciting the People for the Conſervation of the State; and to have eſtabliſhed *Edgar Etheling*, next of the royal Iſſue in the Sovereignty; whereunto the reſt of the Nobility had likewiſe conſented, had they not ſeen the Biſhops averſe, or wavering. And all Men generally, tranſported with Fear, or corrupted with new Hopes, running from themſelves, and their endanger'd Country, and ſtriving who ſhould be firſt

to

to entertain the preſent Fortune, ſought to preoccupate each other. For ſtreight upon his Approach to *London* the Gates was ſet all open; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Stigand*, with other Biſhops, the Nobility, Magiſtrates and People, all render'd themſelves and their Obedience unto him; and he, returning plauſible Promiſes of his future Government, was within a ſhort Time after crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*; for that *Stigand* was not held canonically inveſted in that See, and yet was thought to have been a principal Adherent to this Enterprize.

§ 13. Here (according to the accuſtomed Form) in his Coronation, the Biſhops and Barons of the Realm took their Oath to be his true and loyal Subjects; and he reciprocally being required thereunto by the Archbiſhop of *York*, made his perſonal Oath before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, to defend the holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame; to govern the univerſal People ſubject unto him juſtly; with Care to eſtabliſh equal Laws for the Preſervation of Juſtice, and upright Judgment to be uſed amongſt them: and taking Hoſtages for his more Security, and Order for the Defence and Government of his Kingdom;

§ 14. At the Opening of the Spring then next following, he returns into *Normandy*; ſo to ſettle his Affairs there, as they might not diſtract him from his Buſineſs in *England*, which required his whole Powers. And to leave all ſure behind him, he committed the Rule of the Kingdom in his Abſence to *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his Half-Brother by the Mother's-ſide, and to his Couſin *Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford:* Taking with him the chiefeſt Men, Natives, of the State, who were likelieſt to be Heads to a Revolt; as the Archbiſhop *Stigand*, lately diſcontented, *Edgar Atheling*, a Titular, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with many other Biſhops and Noblemen. In his Abſence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing

nothing was here attempted againſt him, but only that *Edric*, ſurnamed the *Forreſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welſh* to his Aid, and forraged only the remote Borders of that Country. The reſt of the Kingdom ſtood quiet, expecting what would become of that new World; wherein, as yet they found no great Alterations, their Laws and Liberties remaining ſtill the ſame, they did, and might hope by this Acceſſion of a new Province, the State of *England* would be inlarged in Dominion abroad, and not impaired in Profit at home; by Reaſon the Nation was but ſmall, and being a plentiful, and not over-peopled Country, they were not likely to impeſter them.

§ 15. The King now grown to this Power, ſoon ſettled his Eſtate in *Normandy*, which in his Youth he had always found turbulent within, and overhardly neighboured abroad, and ſecured him of that ſide of the World; wherein he was much advantaged by the Time. For *Philip* the firſt, then King of *France*, was a Child; who otherwiſe would never have ſuffered the *Normans*, being ſo ſtubborn, and little affectionate to that Crown, to have grown to ſuch Greatneſs; and beſides, was under the Curature of *Baudovin* Earl of *Flanders*, (his Uncle by the Mother,) whoſe Daughter King *William* of *England* had to Wife; which Alliance indeed gave him the greateſt Means to his Conqueſt. Beſides, he had made the Pope moſt ſure unto him; by promiſing if he ſubdued this Kingdom, to hold it of the Church; for which *Alexander* upon his Enterprize ſent him a Banner, and a Hair of Saint *Peter*. He held ſtrict Amity alſo with the Princes of *France*, that bordered upon him, and might interrupt his Affairs; as with the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Main*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, and others; to every one of whom he had promiſed Lands in *England*, upon their Aids lent him. And to keep fair with the State of *France* in

in general, he ingaged himſelf to their King to hold this Kingdom from him, and to do him Homage for the ſame; by which Means he ſo ſtrongly underſet himſelf, as made his Fortune ſuch as it was.

§ 16. And now having diſpoſed his Affairs in *Normandy*, he returns towards Winter into *England*; where he was to ſatisfy three Sorts of Men. Firſt, the eſpecial Adventurers in the Action; Secondly, thoſe of his own People, whoſe Merits or Nearneſs deſerved Recompence; whereof the Number being ſo great, many muſt have their Expectations fed, though not ſatisfied. Thirdly, the People of this Kingdom, by whom he muſt now ſubſiſt. For being not able with his own Nation ſo to people the ſame, as to defend it, if he ſhould proceed to a general Extirpation of the natural Inhabitants, he was likewiſe to give them Satisfaction: Wherein he had more to do than in his Battle at *Haſtings*; ſeeing all Remunerations, with Diſcharge of Monies, muſt be raiſed out of the Stock of the Kingdom, (which could not be pleaſing to the State in general.) And all Preferments and Dignities conferred on his, muſt be either by Vacancies, or diſplacing others; which needs muſt breed very feeling Grievances in particular. And yet we find no great Men thruſt out of their Rooms, but ſuch as put themſelves out, by their revolting after his Eſtabliſhment in the Crown.

§ 17. In the ſecond Year of his Reign no Exaction was made to raiſe Treaſure for theſe Satisfactions: So that it ſeems he contented himſelf, and his, for the Time, only with what he found here ready; and with filling up their Places, who were ſlain in theſe two laſt Battles, or fled, (as many were) out of the Kingdom with the Sons of *Harold*. But the *Engliſh* Nobility, incompatible of theſe new Concurrents, found notwithſtanding a Diſproportion of Grace, and a darkning of their Dignities by the Interpoſition of ſo many,

as

as muſt needs leſſen their Light. And doubting daily to be more impaired in Honour and Eſtate, all the chiefeſt of them conſpired, and fled; ſome into *Scotland*, ſome into *Denmark*, to try, if by Aid from abroad they might recover themſelves, and their Greatneſs again at home.

§ 18. Amongſt theſe the chiefeſt was *Edgar Atheling*, (entitled *England*'s Darling, which ſhewed the People's Zeal to his Blood;) and with him (beſides his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Siſters, *Chriſtine*, and *Margaret*,) fled the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Marleſwin*, *Hereward*, *Goſpatric*, and *Siward*, and ſhortly after *Stigand*, and *Aldred*, the two Archbiſhops, with many other Noblemen, and divers of the Clergy. Thoſe that fled into *Scotland*, were all hoſpitably received of King *Malcolm*; whom it concerned to look to his own, his Neighbour's Houſe being thus on Fire; and to ſuccour a Party againſt ſo dangerous an Incomer: Which made him not only to entertain them, but to enter League with them for the publick Safety. And to combine himſelf the more firmly, he married *Margaret*, the Siſter of *Edgar*, by whom the Blood of our antient *Saxon* Kings was conjoined with the *Norman* in *Henry* the Second, and ſo became *Engliſh* again.

§ 19. Theſe Noblemen, with the Aid of the *Scots* and *Danes*, in the third Year of this King's Reign raiſed great Commotions in the North beyond *Humber*, and wrought very valiantly themſelves to recover their loſt Country. But now it being too late, and the Occaſion not taken, before the ſettling of the Government, whilſt it was new, and brandling, they prevailed nothing, but gave Advantage to the Conqueror to make himſelf more than he was; for all Conſpiracies of Subjects, that ſucceed not, advance the Sovereignty: And nothing gave Root to the *Normans* planting here more, than the petty Revolts made

made by ſcattered Troops in ſeveral Parts, begun without Order, and weakly ſeconded without Reſolution; whereas nothing could be done for the general Recovery, but by the general Riſing of the People, which ſeldom we ſee to happen. And for this the new King had taken good Order: Firſt by diſarming them, then by forbidding them Aſſemblies, and all ſecret Intercourſe, upon heavy Penalties: that every Man at the cloſing of the Day, by the Warning of a Bell, ſhould cover his Fire, and go to Bed; by making them to be bound Pledges one for another, to anſwer for their Obedience and Loyalty; by building divers Fortreſſes in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, to awe the Country, and to hold them in; with many ſuch like Proviſions.

§ 20. So that theſe Lords, though they did, as they might, hold him doing in the North, and imbroil themſelves in an unſucceſsful Buſineſs, yet he having all the South ſettled under his Power, with well practiſed and prepared Forces, could not but needs tire and conſume them in the End; and in the mean Time inveſt the *Normans* in their Rooms and Poſſeſſions, forfeited by this Attempt: As the Earldom, and all the Lands, which *Edwin* held in *Yorkſhire*, were given to *Alanus* Earl of *Brittain*, his Nephew; the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* conferred on *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*; that of *York* on *Thomas*, his Chaplain, a *Norman*; and all the reſt both of the Clergy, and others, which fled, and were out, had likewiſe their Places ſupplied by *Normans*.

§ 21. And now the King having appeaſed the Commotion in the Weſt, where the Sons of *Harold* had landed with Forces out of *Ireland* and *Wales*, and alſo repreſs'd the Rebellion of *Oxford*, he takes his Journey in Perſon Northward, with all Expedition; leſt the Enemy there ſhould grow too great in Heart and Opinion, by the Defeat of his Lieutenant with ſeven

ſeven hundred *Normans* at *Durham*, and the great Slaughter of his People made at *York*. Where at his firſt coming, he ſo wrought, as he corrupted the Generals of the *Danes* with Money, and ſent them well contented away; and then ſet upon the Army of the Earls, weakened both in Strength and Hope, by this Departure of their Confederates, and put them to Flight: Which done, he utterly waſted, and laid deſolate all that goodly Country between *York* and *Durham*, the Space of ſixty Miles, that it might be no more a Succour to the Revolter. And the like Courſe he uſed on all the Coaſts, where any certain Landings were known, thereby to prevent Invaſions; and ſo returned to *London:* Where he ſeized into his Hands all the Plate, Jewels and Treaſure within all the Monaſteries of *England*; pretending that the Rebels, and their Aſſiſters, had conveyed their Riches into theſe religious Houſes, as into Places privileged, and free from Seizure, to defraud him of it.

§ 22. Moſt of the Lords, after this great Defeat in the North, came in upon publick Faith given them, and were conducted to *Barkamſtead* by the Abbot *Frederick*. Where ſome write, that the King again took a perſonal Oath before the Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, and the Lords, to obſerve the antient Laws of the Realm, eſtabliſhed by his Noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of *England*; and eſpecially thoſe of Saint *Edward:* And all the Lords, upon their Oath and Submiſſion, were then reconciled unto him; and thereupon held themſelves quiet for a Time. But whether it were, that they found not their Entertainment ſuch, as they expected; or that they had received Intelligence of new Hopes from abroad; or that *Edgar*, who was ſtill in *Scotland*, had ſollicited them upon Promiſe of freſh Succours to aid him; or howſoever it was; many of them again conſpired, contrary to their

Oaths, and went out. The Earl *Edwin*, making towards *Scotland*, was murthered by his own People by the way. The Earls *Morcar* and *Hereward*, betook them to the Iſle of *Ely*; meaning to make good that Place for that Winter; whither alſo came the Earl *Siward*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no Time-giver to growing Dangers, beſet all the Iſle with flat Boats on the Eaſt, and made a Bridge of a Mile long on the Weſt, and ſafely brought in his People upon the Enemy; who ſeeing themſelves ſurprized, yielded them all to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, (a Man of great Valour and Courage) who with his Soldiers made a Retreat through the Fens, and eſcaped into *Scotland*. The reſt were ſent to divers Priſons, where they died, or remained during the King's Life.

§ 23. We find, that thoſe Lords, who remained loyal upon their laſt Submiſſion, were all employed, and well graced by the King: As *Edric* the *Forreſter*, that was the firſt Revolter in his Reign, was held in eſpecial Favour, and Truſt near about him; *Goſpatric* was made Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſent againſt *Malcolm*, who in this Time takes Advantage to ſubdue the Countries of *Tiſdal*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, the Son of the Earl *Siward*, he ſo highly eſteemed, as he married him to his Niece *Judith*; though he were a principal Actor in this laſt Commotion, and in the Defence of the City of *York* againſt him, and is ſaid, to have ſtriken off the Heads of divers *Normans* one by one, as they entered upon a Breach, to the great Admiration of all Men: By which Valour of his, he ranſomed the Offence he had made, and grew to that great Grace with the King; who therein ſhewed a noble and magnanimous Nature, to honour Virtue even in his Enemies.

§ 24.

§ 24. And now there reſted nothing, for the general Quieting of the Kingdom, but only the Suppreſſion of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, the greateſt Kindle-fire of all theſe Conſpiracies in the North Parts, and the only Refuge for all that were diſcontented and mutinous in this State. Againſt him the King led ſuch mighty Forces, both by Sea, and Land, as *Malcolm*, rather than to adventure Battle, was content to make his Peace; and not only to give up Hoſtages for ſecuring the ſame, but alſo to do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And ſo all his Home-wars were ended *Regni Anno* 6. Saving only in *Anno* 15, he levied a puiſſant Army, and ſubdued *Wales*; which Buſineſs held him not long. For the reſt of his Government here, he had no more to do here with the Sword, though he had it always abroad during his whole Reign.

§ 25. Now for the Doubt he might have of the great Men of the Kingdom, who by Power or Love were apteſt to diſturb his Government, it was in this ſort taken away. Firſt by the Submiſſion of *Edgar Atheling*, who *Anno* 7, was reſtored into Grace, and had a fair Maintenance, which held him ever after quiet: Then by thoſe whom the Priſons kept from attempting any more: And laſtly, by the revealing of a new Conſpiracy, contrived at a Marriage, between *Ralph* de *Waher* ‡ Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and his new Kinſwoman, the Siſter of *Roger*, the young Earl of *Hereford*: At which Solemnization in their Banquetting and Jollity, the two Earls *Normans*, with *Waltheof*, and divers *Engliſh*, plotted to call in the *Danes* again, and to make away the King: Upon which Diſcovery, they were all apprehended (except the Earl of *Norfolk*, who fled the Land;) and died ſome in Priſon, and ſome on the Scaffold.

* Roger Fitz Osborn, *the Son of* William, *Couſin and eſpecial Counſellor to the King.*

§ 26.

§ 26. The *Danes* being on the Coasts with two hundred Sail, hearing how their Confederates had sped, and the great Preparations the King had made, after some Spoils taken on the Coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after infested this Kingdom. Though in *Anno* 20 of this King, there was a great Rumour of their fresh Preparations for a new Invasion; which made him entertain a great Number of *Frenchmen*, besides *Normans*, which he brought into *England* about Harvest, and held the most part of them all the Winter, to the great Charge of the Kingdom. But it came to nothing; for the Wind held so long against the *Danish* Navy, consisting of about one thousand Sail, as it overthrew their intended Action, and freed both the King and his Successors from future Fears that Way for ever after.

§ 27. The foreign Wars he had, were all about his Dominions in *France*, and raised by his own Son *Robert*, whom he had left his Lieutenant Governor of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the County of *Maine*. Where, by his Father's Absence, tasting the Glory of Command, he grew to assume into his own Power the Sovereign Rule of the Province; caused the Barons there to do him Homage, as Duke, not as Lieutenant; and put himself wholly under the Protection of the King of *France*; who was not a little pleased, to apprehend so good an Occasion, to foster a Division in the House of so great and near a Neighbour; who was now grown fearful, and dangerous, to all the Princes about him; and therefore spared for no Cost to set forward this Work. The King, understanding the Fire thus kindled in his own House, whilst he laboured to quench that himself had made in others, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his Son; who, advertised of his coming, furnished with two thousand Men at Arms, by the King of *France*, put himself in Ambush, where his Father should pass,

and ſet upon him ſo fiercely, as he defeated moſt of his People, and in the Preſs happened to encounter with himſelf; whom he unhorſed, and wounded in the Arms with his Lance. But perceiving by his Voice it was his Father, he haſted to lift him up again to his Horſe, craving moſt humble Pardon for his Offence, which the King, ſeeing in what Caſe he was, eaſily granted and received him into Grace, with whom, and with his Son *William*, (who was likewiſe hurt in the Skirmiſh) he retired to *Roan*, and after being there cured of his Hurt, returned again into *England*.

§ 28. Where he was no ſooner arrived, but he heard, that his Son was again revolted, treated the *Normans* ill, and renounced his Father's Sovereignty over that Province; which cauſed his little Stay in *England* for that Time, but only to prepare for his Return into *Normandy*. Whither paſſing, he was by Tempeſt driven on the Coaſt of *Spain*; and there is ſaid to have fought in Battle againſt the *Saracins*. Afterwards arriving at *Bourdeaux*, his Son *Robert* came, and ſubmitted himſelf the ſecond Time; whom now he took with him into *England*, to frame him to a better Obedience, by employing him here for a Seaſon; and then ſent him back again, with his youngeſt Son *Harry*, (whom he more truſted) into *Normandy*; where he held himſelf quiet a while, and gave his Father ſome ſmall Breathing-Time to diſpoſe of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

§ 29. But it was not long, e're new Occaſions of greater Troubles grew up: which took by this Means. The two Princes, *Robert* and *Henry*, went to viſit and ſalute the King of *France* at *Conflans*; where being feaſted certain Days, upon an After-dinner, *Henry* wone ſo much at Cheſs of *Louis* the King's eldeſt Son, that he grew ſo far into Choler, as he called him the Son of a Baſtard, and threw the Cheſs in his Face. *Henry* takes up the Cheſs-board, and ſtruck *Louis* with that Force, as he drew Blood, and had

had killed him, had it not been for his Brother *Robert*, who came in in the mean Time, and interpoſed himſelf; whereupon they ſuddenly took Horſe, and with much ado ſaved themſelves at *Pontoiſe* from the King's People, that purſued them.

§ 30. This Quarrel ariſing upon the intermeeting of theſe Princes, (which is a thing, that ſeldom breeds good Blood amongſt them) reinkindled a Heat of more Rancor in the Fathers, and ſet a mighty Fire between the two Kingdoms; which made the firſt War the *Engliſh* and *French* had together, whereupon followed many others. For preſently the King of *France* complots again with *Robert*, enters into *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, ſubdues the Country on *Xaintoign*, and *Poitou*, and returns to *Roan*; where the third time his Son *Robert* is reconciled unto him; which much diſappointeth, and vexeth the King of *France*. Who hereupon ſummons the King of *England*, to come and do him Homage for the Kingdom of *England*: Which he refuſed to do; ſaying, that he held it of none, but of God, and his Sword: But yet offering to do him Homage, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, it it would not ſatisfy the King of *France*; who was willing to make any Occaſion the Motive to ſet upon him: And again he invaded his Territories; but with more Loſs than Profit. In the End they conclude a little unperfect Peace together; which held no longer, than King *William* had recovered a Sickneſs, whereinto, by reaſon of his Years, Travel, and Fatneſs, he was lately fallen. At which Time the King of *France*, (then young and luſty) jeſting at his great Belly, whereof he ſaid he lay in at *Roan*, ſo irritated him, as being recovered, he gathered all his Forces, entered into *France*, in the chiefeſt Time of their Fruits, and came even before *Paris*, ſpoiling, and burning all in his Way: Where with Heat and Toil, he fell into a Relapſe, returned to *Roan*, and there made an

End of his Wars, and Life, after he had held this Kingdom * twenty Years and ten Months.

§ 31. Now concerning his Government in Peace, and the Courſe he held in eſtabliſhing the Kingdom thus gotten; firſt he examines the *Engliſh* Laws, which were then compoſed of *Merchenlage*, *Danelage*, and *Weſtſaxlage*: Whereof ſome he abrogated, and ſome allowed, adding other of *Normandy*; eſpecially ſuch as made for the Preſervation of the Peace, which moſt imported him to look unto: And theſe Laws thus reformed he cauſed to be all tranſlated, and written into the *Norman* Tongue; hereby to draw the People of the Kingdom to learn that Language for their own Need, that the two Nations might the better grow together and become one; ſeing a difference of Speech would continue a Difference of Affections. Wherein he attained not his Deſire; nor ever was it in the Power of any Conqueror ſo to do, without the univerſal Extirpation of the Land-bred People: Who being ſo far in Number (as they were) above the Invaders, both carry the main of the Language, and alſo in few Years, make them to become theirs, that ſubdued them. But yet upon theſe Laws thus eſtabliſhed by ſo prudent a Prince, this free, and fierce Nation, was ſo well held in Peace and Obedience, as his Succeſſors, with ſome Abatement of Rigour, and Prerogative, have ever ſince continued a moſt glorious Sovereignty over the ſame.

§ 32. And for that he would be well, and certainly ſupplied with Treaſure, which his great Wars and Entertainments required, he took a moſt provident Courſe for reforming the *Fiſque* or *Exchequer*, and the ordering and raiſing of his Revenues; endeavouring to make, and know the utmoſt of his Eſtate. And therefore he employed a moſt diſcreet Choice of Men to ſurvey the whole Kingdom, and to take the Par-

* *Anno* 20.

ticulars

ticulars of his own, and every Man's Ability, the Quantity, and Nature of Lands, and Poſſeſſions, with the Deſcriptions, Bounds, and Diviſions of Shires and Hundreds within the ſame. And this was drawn into one Book, and brought into his *Ærarium*, the Exchequer, (ſo called of the Table, whereat the Officers ſate; before termed the *Talee*) and the ſame entitled *Doomesday-Book*. *Liber Judiciarius*, (ſaith *Gervaſius*) the Judgment Book, that was to decide all Doubts concerning theſe Particulars.

§ 33. All the Foreſts and Chaſes throughout the Kingdom, he took into his proper Poſſeſſion, and exempted them from being under any other Law than his own Pleaſure, to ſerve as *Penetralia Regnum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their ſerious Labours in the State; where none might preſume to have to do, and where all Puniſhments and Pardons of Delinquents were to be diſpoſed by himſelf abſolutely, and the former Cuſtoms abrogated. And to make his Command the more, he encreaſed the Number of them in all Parts of the Land; and on the South-Coaſt diſpeopled the Country for above thirty Miles Space; making of old inhabited Poſſeſſions a new Foreſt; inflicting great Puniſhments for hunting his Deer, whereby he much advanced his Revenue: which was the greateſt Act of Concuſſion and Tyranny he committed in his Government. And the ſame Courſe held almoſt every King near the Conqueſt. For *Henry* the firſt proceeded with ſuch Violence, as to make a Law, that if any Man killed the King's Deer in his own Woods, he ſhould forfeit his Woods to the King. But King *Stephen*, having need of the Peoples Favour, repealed that Law. And in the End this Grievance, amongſt others, after much Bloodſhed in the Kingdom, was allayed by the Charter of Foreſts, granted by *Henry* III. For other Poſſeſſions he permitted thoſe, which held them before his Coming, to continue them quietly

in the ſame Manner, and took none, but from ſuch, as after his Poſſeſſion of the Crown, rebelled againſt him, or were ſlain in the Wars.

§ 34. He impoſed no new Taxations on the State, and uſed thoſe he found very moderately: As *Danegelt* being a Tax raiſed by the former Kings, of two Shillings upon every Hide-Land, to maintain the Wars againſt the *Danes*, he would not have it made an annual Payment, but only taken upon urgent Occaſion: * And it was ſeldom gathered in his Time, or his Succeſſors. *Scutagium*, or *Eſcuage*, which was alſo then an Impoſition of Money upon every Knight's Fee (afterwards only imployed for the Service in *Scotland*) was never levied, but in like Occaſions, for Stipends and Donatives to Soldiers.

§ 35. Only one Exaction he was forced to raiſe, to cure a Miſchief, which aroſe by his Means. In the beginning of this Reign, the Rancor of the *Engliſh* towards the New-come *Normans* was ſuch, as finding them ſingle in Woods, and remote Places, they ſecretly murthered them; and the Deed-doers, for any the ſevereſt Courſes taken, could never be diſcovered. Whereupon it was ordained, that the Hundred wherein a *Norman* was found ſlain, and the Murtherer not taken, ſhould be condemned to pay the King ſome thirty-ſix Pounds, and ſome twenty eight Pounds, according to the Quantity of the Hundred. And this was done to the End, the Puniſhment being generally inflicted, it might particularly deter them, and haſten the Diſcovery of the Malefactor, by whom ſo many muſt otherwiſe be intereſſed. This Mulct, and the ſeizing into his Hands the Church Treaſure before noted, (though both were done by the eſpecial commanding Warrant of Neceſſity) were much taken to Heart in the Kingdom, both by the Clergy and common People.

* *Gervaſius.*

§ 36.

§ 36. And yet otherwiſe was he to both very gracious and beneficial. For upon Petition made unto him, he relieved the Oppreſſion of ſuch as were Tenants at will of their Lords, which were a very great Number, and began after this Manner. All thoſe, who were diſcovered to have had a Hand in any Rebellion, and were pardoned, only to enjoy the Benefit of Life, having all their Livelihood taken from them, became Vaſſals unto thoſe Lords, to whom the Poſſeſſions were given of all ſuch Lands, as were forfeited by Attainders. And if by their diligent Service they could attain any Portion of Ground, they held it, but only ſo long as it pleaſed their Lords, without having any Eſtate for themſelves or their Children; and were oftentimes miſerably caſt out upon the ſudden, contrary to Promiſe, upon any ſmall Diſpleaſure. Whereupon it was ordained, that whatſoever they had obtained of their Lords by any obſequious Service, or agreed for upon any lawful Pact, they ſhould hold by an inviolable Law during their own Lives.

§ 37. And for the Clergy, other than in this one Act, he maintained all their Immunities and Priviledges, and they grew very much under him. But this (it ſeems) was the Cauſe, that made them ſo much disfigure his Worthineſs, and leave his Memory in ſo black Colours to Poſterity, as they did, in delineating his Tyranny, Rigor and Oppreſſion; when the Nature and neceſſary Diſpoſition of his Affairs do much excuſe him therein, and ſhew that he was a Prince of a moſt active Virtue, whoſe Abilities of Nature were equal to his Undertakings of Fortune, as preordained for ſo great a Work. And though he might have ſome Advantage of the Time, wherein we often ſee Men prevail more by the Imbecilities of others, than their own Worth: Yet let thoſe Times be well examined, his Strength and Eminency (if we

take his juſt Meaſure) were of an exceeding Proportion. Neither wanted he thoſe Encounters and Concurrences of ſufficient able Princes, his Neighbours, to put him to the Trial thereof; having on one ſide the *French* to grapple withal, on the other the *Dane*, far mightier in People and Shipping than himſelf, ſtrongly ſided in the Kingdom, as greedy to recover their former Footing here as ever, and as well or better prepared.

§ 38. But this Name of Conqueſt (which ever imports Violence and Miſery) is of ſo harſh a Sound, and ſo odious in Nature, as a People ſubdued ſeldom gives the Conqueror his due, tho' never ſo worthy: And eſpecially to a Stranger, whom only time muſt naturalize, and let in by Degrees into their Liking and good Opinion: Wherein alſo this King was greatly advantaged by reaſon of his twenty Years Government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Cuſtoms in the younger Sort, and well inured the elder to the preſent Uſances and Form of State: Whereby the Rule was made more eaſy to his Sons, who tho' they were far inferior to him in Worth, were a little better beloved than he; and the rather for that they were content ſomewhat to unwreſt the Sovereignty from the Height whereunto he had ſtrained it; which brought the State to a better Proportion of Harmony.

§ 39. Of thoſe, who were the eſpecial Men of Employment in his Reign, Time has ſhut us out from the Knowledge of many; it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have the Names and Memory of their Counſellors (like Rivers in the Ocean) buried in their Glory. Yet theſe we find principally mentioned in Stories. Firſt, *William Fitz-Oſborne* Earl of *Hereford*, the eſpecial Mover and Counſellor of this Voyage of *England*, reported alſo to have furniſhed forty Ships at his own Charge for the Enterprize.

Odo

Odo Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, ſometimes his Viceroy in *England*; and ſeems alſo to have managed the Finances; but of ſuch exceſſive Avarice, that he gathered ſo much Treaſure, as he went about to buy the Papacy; and attempting to go to *Rome* about the ſame, the King ſtaid him at Home in a fair Priſon; and excuſed the Matter (upon Exclamation made) in this Sort, that he only impriſoned the Earl of *Kent*, not the Biſhop of *Bayeux*. Beſide he had *Lanfranc*, a Man of univerſal Learning, and an excellent Lawyer, born in *Lombardy*, who peradventure might introduce ſomething of the Conſtitutions of that Province, to the making up our Laws, which in many Things ſeem to participate with theirs. And no doubt he had many others elſe: For being of a ſtrong Conſtitution of Judgment, he could not but be ſtrongly furniſhed in that kind; ſeeing ever weak Princes, have weak Sides; and our moſt renowned Kings have been beſt underſet with Counſel, and happily ſerved with the ableſt Officers.

§ 40. He had a fair iſſue by *Maud* his Wife; four Sons, and five Daughters. To *Robert* his eldeſt Son he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*; to *William* the Kingdom of *England*; and to *Henry* his Treaſure, with an annual Penſion of eight hundred Pounds to be paid him by his two Brothers. *Richard*, that was his ſecond Son died in his Youth, of a Surfeit taken by hunting in the New Foreſt, and began the fatal Misfortune, that followed, of that Place, by the Death of King *William* the Second, there ſlain with an Arrow; and of *Richard* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, that broke his Neck. His eldeſt Daughter *Cicilia* became a Nun. *Conſtance* married to the Earl of *Brittain*; *Adela* to *Stephen*, Earl of *Bloys*, who likewiſe became a Nun in her Age: Such was their great Devotion, and ſo much were theſe ſolitary Retirements affected in thoſe Times, by the greateſt Ladies.

Another

Another was affianced to *Alfonſus* King of *Galicia*; who with the other Siſter promiſed to *Harold*, died before Marriage.

§ 41. As to what he was in the Circle of himſelf, in his own Continent, we find him of an even or middle Stature, comely Perſonage, of good Preſence, riding, ſitting, or ſtanding; till his Corpulency gathering upon him in his latter Age, made him ſomewhat unwieldy; of ſo ſtrong a Conſtitution, that he was never ſickly, till a few Months before his Death; his Strength ſuch, as few Men could draw his Bow; and being about fifty one of his Age, when he ſubdued this Kingdom, it ſeems by his continual Actions, he felt not the Weight of Years upon him, till his laſt Year.

§ 42. His Mind was no leſs excellently compoſed, and we ſee it the faireſt drawn in his Actions; wherein his Mercy and Clemency (the brighteſt Stars in the Sphere of Majeſty) appeared (next to his great Devotion) above all his other Virtues, by the often pardoning and receiving into Grace thoſe, who had forfeited their Loyalty, and moſt dangerouſly rebelled againſt him: Seeming to hold Submiſſion ſatisfactory for the greateſt Offence; and that he ſought to extinguiſh Men's Enterprizes, but not themſelves. For we find but one great Nobleman executed in all his Reign; and that was the Earl *Waltheof*, who had twice falſified his Faith before: And thoſe, whom he had held Priſoners in *Normandy*, as the Earls *Morcar*, and *Siward*, with *Wolfnothus*, the Brother of *Harold*, and divers others, upon compaſſion of their Endurance, he releaſed a little before his Death.

§ 43. Beſides he was as far from Suſpicion as from Cowardice; and of that Confidence (an eſpecial Note of his Magnanimity) as he gave *Edgar*, his Competitor in the Crown, the Liberty of his Court; and upon

upon his Suit, ſent him well furniſhed to the holy War; where he ſo nobly behaved himſelf, as he attained to great Eſtimation with the Emperors of *Greece*, and *Almain*: Which might have been held dangerous in Reſpect of his Alliances that Way, being Grand-Child to *Henry* the third Emperor. But theſe may be as well Virtues of the Time, as of Men; and ſo the Age muſt have Part of this Commendation.

Sir

Sir *WALTER RALEIGH's*

SEAT OF

GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government *is upheld by the two great Pillars thereof,* viz. *Civil* Juſtice, *and martial* Policy, *which are framed out of* Huſbandry, Merchandize, *and* Gentry *of this Kingdom.*

THEY ſay, that the goodlieſt Cedars which grow on the high Mountains of *Libanus*, thruſt their Roots between the Clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themſelves againſt the ſtrong Storms that blow there. As Nature hath inſtructed thoſe Kings of Trees, ſo hath Reaſon taught the Kings of Men, to root themſelves in the hardy Hearts of their faith-

ful Subjects. And as thoſe Kings of Trees have large Tops, ſo have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the firſt would ſoon be broken from their Bodies, were they not underborn by many Branches; ſo would the other eaſily totter, were they not faſtened on their Heads with the ſtrong Chains of civil Juſtice and martial Diſcipline.

1. For the Adminiſtration of the firſt, even God himſelf hath given Direction, *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make which ſhall judge the People with righteous Judgments.*

2. The ſecond is grounded on the firſt Laws of the World and Nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moſes* in the 20*th* of *Exodus*, and elſewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of Neglect and Abuſe in both, ſo have we heard of the Decline and Ruin of many Kingdoms and States long before our Days: For that Policy hath never yet prevailed (though it hath ſerved for a ſhort Seaſon) where the Counterfeit hath been ſold for the Natural, and the outward Shew and Formality for the Subſtance. Of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth the Writers of that Age witneſs, that he uſed but the Name of Juſtice and good Order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far more Knowledge than Conſcience. Certainly the unjuſt Magiſtrate that fancieth to himſelf a ſolid and untranſparable Body of Gold, every ordinary Wit can vitrify, and make tranſparent Pieces, and diſcern their Corruptions; howſoever, becauſe not daring, they cover their Knowledge: but in the mean while it is alſo true, that conſtrained Diſſimulation, either in the proud Heart, or in the oppreſſed, either in publick Eſtates, or in private Perſons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the Leiſure of her lurking, but ſharpen her Teeth, the voluntary being no leſs baſe, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England*

land and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* and their People, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphin* and *John* of *Burgoign*, between *Charles* the Ninth and the *French* Proteſtants, and between *Henry* the third, his Succeſſor, and the Lords of *Guiſe*. Hereof in place of more particulars, the whole World may ſerve for Examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography to delineate and lay out the Bounds of Authority; but it is eaſy enough to conceive the beſt uſe of it, and by which it hath maintained itſelf in laſting Happineſs; it hath ever acquired more honour by perſuading, than by beating; for as the Bonds of Reaſon and Love are immortal, ſo do all other Chains or Cords both ruſt and rot noble Parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to ſtretch this firſt String of civil Juſtice; for in reſpect of the firſt Sort of Men, *viz.* of thoſe that live by their own Labour, they have never been diſpleaſed where they have been ſuffered to enjoy the Fruit of their own Travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine, is all wherein they ſeek their Certainty and Protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomy* commanded to be ſpared; they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the Ground with great Labour, giving the beſt of their Grain to the Eaſeful and Idle.

For the ſecond Sort, which are the Merchants, as thoſe firſt feed the Kingdom, ſo do the ſeenrich it; yea, their Trades, eſpecially thoſe which are forcible, are not the leaſt Part of our martial Policy, as is hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all Ages and Times aſſiſted the Kings of this Land, not only with great Sums of Money, but with great Fleets of Ships, in all their Enterpriſes beyond the Seas. The ſecond have ſeldom or never offended their Princes; to enjoy their Trades at Home upon tolerable Conditions,

ditions, have ever contented them for the Injuries received from other Nations; give them but the Commiſſion of Repriſal, they will either right themſelves, or ſit down with their own Loſs without Complaint.

3. The third Sort, which are the Gentry of *England*, theſe being neither ſeated in the loweſt Grounds, and thereby ſubject to the biting of every Beaſt, nor in the higheſt Mountains, and thereby in Danger to be torn with Tempeſts, but the Valleys between both, have their Parts in the inferior Juſtice: and ſpread over all, are the Gariſons of good Order throughout the Realm.

Sir *WALTER RALEIGH's*

OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Cauſes of the Magnificency *and* Opulency *of* Cities.

THAT the only Way to civilize and reform the ſavage and barbarous Lives and corrupt Manners of ſuch People, is,

1. To be dealt withal by gentle and loving Converſation among them; to attain to the Knowledge of their Language, and of the Multitude of their ſpecial Diſcommodities and Inconveniencies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired Reputation amongſt them, upon a ſolid and true Foundation of Piety, Juſtice, and Wiſdom, conjoyned with Fortitude and Power.

3. The third is, diſcreetly to poſſeſs them with a Knowledge of the Condition of their own Eſtate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were ſaid to draw after them the Beaſts of the Field, *&c.*

And this muſt be firſt wrought by a viſible Repreſentation of the Certainty, Truth, and Sincerity of theſe, together with the Felicity of a reformed eſtate.

All which is but to give Foundation, Bottom, and firm Footing unto Action, and to prepare them to receive wholeſome and good Advice, for the future Profit and Felicity of themſelves and their Poſterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous People, they are to be perſuaded to withdraw and unite themſelves into ſeveral Colonies; that by it an interchangeable Communication and Commerce of all Things may more commodiouſly be had, and that they may ſo live together in Civility, for the better Succour and Welfare of one another: And thereby they may more eaſily be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and governed under the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the King, or other ſuperior Power, under whom this Reformation is ſought. Which Courſe the Stoick tells, that *Theſeus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the People into one City, that before lived diſperſedly in many Villages. The like is put in Practice at this Day by the *Portugals* and *Jeſuits*, that they may with leſs Difficulty and Hinderance reform the rough Behaviour, and ſavage Life of the People of *Brazile*, who dwell ſcattered and diſperſed in Caves and Cottages made of Boughs and Leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more than ſeventy Cities: *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the Honour of his Wife; and five, called *Laodicea*, in Memory of his Mother; and five, called *Seleucia*, to the Honour of himſelf.

Safety

Safety for Defence of the People and their Goods, in and near the Town.

IN the Situation of Cities there is to be required a Place of Safety, by ſome natural Strength, Commodiouſneſs for Navigation, and Conduct for the attaining of plenty of all good Things, for the Suſtenance and Comfort of Man's Life, and to draw Trade and Intercourſe of other Nations; as, if the ſame be ſituate in ſuch Sort, as many People have need to repair thither for ſome natural Commodity or other of the Country, which by Traffick and Tranſportation of Commodities, whereof they have more plenty than will ſupply their own Neceſſity, or for receiving of things whereof they have ſcarcity. And much better will it be, if the Place afford ſome notable Commodity of itſelf, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the ſame: likewiſe, and withal, be ſo fertil, pleaſant and healthful of itſelf, that it may afford plenty of good Things, for the Delight and Comfort of the Inhabitants.

In former Times great Nations, Kings and Potentates have endured ſharp Conflicts, and held it high Policy by all Means to increaſe their Cities with Multitudes of Inhabitants. And to this End the *Romans* ever furniſhed themſelves with Strength and Power, to make their Neighbour People, of Neceſſity, willing to draw themſelves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean Strength down to the Ground.

So did they for this Cauſe utterly deſtroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquiſhed Captives to *Rome*, for the Augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty Fight with the *Sabines*, condeſcended to Peace, upon Condition that *Tatius*

their King ſhould come with all their People to dwell at *Rome: Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his Seat and Palace.

The ſame Courſe held *Tamerlane* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samarcanda*, ſtill bringing unto it, the richeſt and wealthieſt Citizens he had ſubdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Conſtantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thouſand Families, eſpecially Artificers, out of the ſubdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trebizond*, *Selim* the Firſt from *Cairo*, and *Solyman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and Neceſſity, without the Conſideration of the Conveniencies and Commodiouſneſs of Situation above-mentioned, are of ſmall Moment in the Foundation of a City; thereby only it would be unlikely either to grow or continue in Magnificency or Opulency; for if Profit, Height, and Delight go not Companions therewith, no Authority or Neceſſity can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the Place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforeſaid Conveniencies, which help greatly for the Felicity of this Life, then, no doubt, the ſame is likely to draw much abundance of People and Riches unto the ſame, whereby it may, by the Help of Arts and Induſtry, in Time become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good Eſtate, Greatneſs, and Glory of a City, thoſe things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much Importance, *viz.*

Religion, which is of ſuch Force and Might, to amplify Cities and Dominions, and of ſuch attractive Virtue to repleniſh the ſame with People and Wealth, and to hold them in due Obedience, as none can be more; for without Adoration of ſome Deity, no Common-wealth can ſubſiſt.

Witneſs

Witneſs *Jeruſalem*, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, and all other Cities that have been famous for the Profeſſion of Religion, or divine Worſhip. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this World of more Efficacy and Force to allure and draw to it the Hearts of Men, than God which is the *ſummum bonum*. He is carefully deſired, and continually ſought for of all Creatures; for all regard him as their laſt End and Refuge.

Light things apply themſelves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to Flowers, Trees to bear Fruit, Beaſts to preſerve their Kind, and Man in ſeeking his Tranquility and everlaſting Glory. But foraſmuch as God is of ſo high a Nature as the Senſe and Underſtanding of Man cannot conceive it, every Man directly turns himſelf to that Place where he leaves ſome Print of his Power, or declares ſome Sign of his Aſſiſtance; and to ſuch Perſons to whom he ſeemeth more eſpecially to have revealed himſelf.

Academies, and Schools of Learning with convenient Immunities and Privileges for Scholars, and Means for Recreation and Delight, are of great Importance to enlarge and enrich a City: foraſmuch as Men long for Honour and Profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences, ſome bring certain Wealth to Men, and ſome Promotions and Preferments to honourable Functions; for by this Means not only young Men, and thoſe that are deſirous of Learning and Virtue in the ſame Common-wealth, will be retained in their own Country; but alſo Strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if Occaſion be given to Scholars and Students, to riſe to Degrees of Honour and Preferment by their learned Exerciſes, and that by the Policy of the ſame City, good Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the ſame Academies and Schools be ſtored with plenty of

Doctors and learned Men of great Fame and Reputation.

Courts of Juſtice, with due Execution of the ſame in a City, do much enable and enlarge and enrich it; for it faſteneth a great liking in a City to virtuous Men, and ſuch as be wealthy, that therein they may be free and in Safety from the Violence of the Oppreſſions of covetous and wicked Men: and there will be rather Reſort thither to inhabit, or traffick there, as Occaſions may miniſter unto them. And many others that have Cauſe of Suit will repair thither, where they may be ſure to find Judgment and Juſtice duly executed, whereby the City muſt needs be enlarged and enriched: for our Lives, and all that ever we have are in the Hands of Juſtice, ſo that if Juſtice be not adminiſtred amongſt Men, in vain is there any Society and Commerce, nor any other Thing can be profitable or ſafe; ſo much is Love and Charity failed, and Iniquity encreaſed upon the Face of the Earth.

The Excellency and Multitude likewiſe of Artificers exerciſing their manual Arts and Trades, do marvellouſly encreaſe and enrich a State, whereof ſome are neceſſary, ſome commodious for a civil Life, other ſome are of Pomp and Ornament, and other ſome of Delicacy and Curioſity, whereof doth follow Concourſe of People that labour and work, and current Money which doth enrich and ſupply Materials for Labourers, and Workmen, buying and ſelling, tranſportation from Place to Place, which doth employ and increaſe the artificious and cunning Parts of the Wit of Man; and this Art and Exquiſiteneſs of Workmanſhip and Skill is ſo powerful herein, that it far excels the ſimple Commodities and Materials that Nature produceth, and is alone ſufficient of itſelf to make a City or State both magnificent and glorious: And the daily Experience we have in theſe our Days, and in former Times, doth manifeſtly

manifeſtly approve the ſame, and make evident without all Contradiction.

Some natural Benefits that a City alſo may have for the Excellency of Art, or Workmanſhip of ſome ſpecial Commodities above any other Place, either through the Quality of the Water, or other Matter whatſoever, or ſome hidden Myſtery of the Inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great Help for the Enlargement and Enriching of a City.

The Command of a Country that affordeth ſome proper Commodity, is of itſelf ſufficient mightily to bring a City to great Wealth, and to advance it to great Power, and draweth thereby Dependency and Concourſe, much advantageous alſo, as well for the publick Weal as the private Perſon.

A City alſo may be Lord of much Merchandize and Traffick, by Means of the commodious Situation to many Nations, to whom it ſerveth and hath Relation, as Warehouſes, Roomth and Store-houſes, by Reaſon whereof, the Nations adjoyning do uſe to reſort thereunto to make their Proviſions of ſuch Things. And this conſiſteth in the Largeneſs of the Ports, the Fitneſs of the Gulphs and Creeks of the Seas, in the navigable Rivers and Channels, and the plain and ſafe Ways that lead to the City, or that come, or turn by or near it.

Privilege and Freedom from Cuſtoms and Exactions, doth greatly encreaſe the Trade, and draw Inhabitants to a City, whereby the ſame may become both rich and powerful; whereof the Marts and Fairs and Markets bear good Witneſs, which are frequented with great Concourſe of People, Tradeſmen, and Merchants, for no other Reſpect, but that they are there free and frank from Cuſtoms and Exactions. And the Cities in *Flanders* are lively Teſtimonies hereof, where the Cuſtoms are very ſmall.

By Reaſon whereof all ſuch as have erected new Cities in times paſt, to draw Concourſe of People unto it, have granted large Immunities and Privileges, at the leaſt to the firſt Inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have reſtored Cities emptied with Plague, conſumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famine, or ſome other Scourge of God. In reſpect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to ſuch as would, with their Families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other Neceſſaries for Proviſion of Victual.

The *Romans*, to increaſe their Cities, made the Towns that well deſerved of them (which they after called *Municipia)* to be Partakers of their Franchiſes and Privileges.

The firſt Means the *Romans* uſed to allure People to make their Habitations rather in *Rome* than elſewhere, was the opening the Sanctuary, and giving Liberty and Freedom to all that would come unto them. In Reſpect whereof there flocked thither, with their Goods, Numbers of People that were either racked with Exactions, thruſt out of their Habitations, or unſafe, or unſure for their Lives in their own Countries for Religion Sake.

The very ſame Reaſon in a Manner hath encreaſed ſo much the City of *Geneva:* foraſmuch as it hath offered Entertainment to all Comers out of *France* and *Italy*, that have either forſaken, or been exiled their Countries for Religion Sake.

Likewiſe, Triumphs, goodly Buildings, Battles on the Water, Sights of Sword-players, hunting of wild Beaſts, publick Shows and Sights; Plays ſolemnized with great Pomp and Preparation, and many other ſuch Things, draw the curious People to a City inſpeakably, which leave behind them much Treaſure, and for ſuch Cauſe will rather ſettle themſelves to inhabit

habit there, than in other Places. This was alſo the Device of *Rome* in her Infancy to enlarge herſelf.

The Cauſes that concern the Magnificency of a City.

TO confirm a City in her Greatneſs, Juſtice, Peace and Plenty are the undoubted Means: for Juſtice aſſureth every Man his own: Peace cauſeth all Arts and Negotiations whatſoever to flouriſh: and Plenty of Food and Victual, that ſuſtaineth the Life of Man with Eaſe and much Contentment. To conclude, all thoſe Things that cauſe the Greatneſs of a City, are alſo fit to conſerve the ſame.

Sir

Sir *WALTER RALEIGH's*

SCEPTICK.

The SCEPTICK *doth neither affirm, neither deny any Poſition; but doubteth of it, and oppoſeth his Reaſons againſt that which is affirmed, or denied, to juſtify his not conſenting.*

HIS firſt Reaſon ariſeth, from the Conſideration of the great Difference amongſt living Creatures, both in the Matter and Manner of their Generations, and the ſeveral Conſtitutions of their Bodies.

Some living Creatures are by Copulation and ſome without it: and that either by Fire, as Crickets in Furnaces; or corrupt Water, as Gnats; or Slime, as Frogs; or Dirt, as Worms; or Herbs, as Cankerworms; ſome of Aſhes, as Beetles; ſome of Trees, as the Worm Pſenas bred in the wild Fig-tree; ſome of living Creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Waſps of Horſes. By Copulation many Creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; ſome in the Egg, as Birds; ſome in an unſhapen Piece of Fleſh, as Bears. Theſe great Differences

rences cannot but cauſe a divers and contrary Temperament, and Quality in thoſe Creatures; and conſequently, a great Diverſity in their Fancy and Conceit; ſo that tho' they apprehend one and the ſame Object, yet they muſt do it after a diverſe Manner: for is it not abſurd to affirm, that Creatures differ ſo much in Temperature, and yet agree in Conceit concerning one and the ſame Object?

But this will more plainly appear, if the Inſtruments of Senſe in the Body be obſerved; for we ſhall find, that as theſe Inſtruments are affected and diſpoſed, ſo doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very Object which ſeemeth unto us white, unto them which have the Jaundice ſeemeth pale, and red unto thoſe whoſe Eyes are Blood-ſhot. Foraſmuch then as living Creatures have ſome white, ſome pale, ſome red Eyes, why ſhould not one and the ſame Object ſeem to ſome white, to ſome red, to ſome pale? If a Man rub his Eye, the Figure of that which he beholdeth ſeemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that thoſe Creatures which have a long and ſlanting Pupil of the Eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, *&c.* do convey the Faſhion of that which they behold under another Form to the Imagination, than thoſe that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glaſs preſenteth the outward Object ſmoother, or greater, according to the making of the Glaſs? If it be hollow, the Object ſeemeth ſmaller than it is; if the Glaſs be crooked, then the Object ſeemeth long and narrow. And Glaſſes there be, which preſent the Head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the Heels upwards. Now then ſeeing the Eye, which is the Inſtrument of Sight, in ſome living Creatures is more outward, in ſome more hollow, in ſome plain, in ſome greater, in ſome leſs; it is very probable, that Fiſhes, Men, Lions and Dogs, whoſe Eyes ſo much differ, do not conceive the

the ſelf-ſame Object after the ſame Manner, but diverſly, according to the Diverſity of the Eye, which offereth it unto the Fancy.

The ſame Reaſon holdeth in Touching; for ſeemeth it not abſurd to think, that thoſe Creatures which are covered with Shells, thoſe which are covered with Scales, and which are covered with Hairs, and thoſe which are ſmooth, ſhould all be alike ſenſible in Touching; and every one of them convey the Image or Quality of the ſame Object which they touch, in the very ſame Degree of Heat or Cold, of Dryneſs or Moiſture, Roughneſs or Smoothneſs, unto the Imagination?

So might it be ſhewed in Hearing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow Paſſage, and the Ear which hath an open and wide Paſſage, do receive the ſame Sound in the ſame Degree? or that the Ear whoſe Inſide is full of Hair, doth hear in the ſame juſt Meaſure, that the Ear doth whoſe Inſide is ſmooth? ſince Experience ſheweth, that if we ſtop, or half ſtop our Ears, the Sound cometh not to us in the ſame Manner and Degree that it doth if our Ears be open.

The like may be thought of Smelling: for Man himſelf abounding with Flegm, is otherwiſe affected in Smelling, than he is, if the Parts about the Head be full of Blood; and many Things afford a delightful Smell to ſome living Creatures, which Smell to other living Creatures ſeemeth not to be ſo.

In the Taſte the ſame Reaſon appeareth, for to a rough and dry Tongue, that very Thing ſeemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moiſter Tongue ſeemeth not to be ſo. Divers Creatures then having Tongues drier, or moiſter, according to their ſeveral Temperatures, when they taſte the ſame Thing, muſt needs conceit it to be according as the Inſtrument of their Taſte is affected, either bitter, or ſweet, *&c.* For even as the Hand in the ſtriking of the Harp, tho' the Stroke be one, yet cauſeth a Sound ſometimes high,

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ſometimes baſe, according to the Quality of the String that is ſtrucken; even ſo one and the ſame outward Object is diverſly judged of, and conceited, according to the ſeveral and divers Qualities of the Inſtrument of Senſe, which conveyeth it to the Imagination. Ointment is pleaſing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oil to Man is profitable, but it killeth Bees and Waſps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both of theſe hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants, he is ſick; but the Bear being ſick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very ſame thing to the red Eye ſeem red, to another pale, and white to another: if one and the ſame thing, ſeem not hot or cold, dry or moiſt, in the ſame Degree, to the ſeveral Creatures which touch it; if one and the ſelf ſame Sound ſeem more ſhrill to that Creature which hath a narrow Ear, and more baſe to him that hath an open Ear: if the ſame thing, at the ſame Time, ſeem to afford a pleaſant and diſpleaſant Smell to divers and ſeveral Creatures: if that ſeem bitter in Taſte to one, which to another ſeemeth ſweet; that to one hurtful, which to another ſeemeth healthful: I may report how theſe Things appear divers to ſeveral Creatures, and ſeem to produce divers Effects.

But what they are in their own Nature, whether red or white, bitter or ſweet, healthful or hurtful, I cannot tell. For why ſhould I preſume to prefer my Conceit and Imagination, in affirming that a Thing is thus or thus, in its own Nature, becauſe it ſeemeth to me to be ſo, before the Conceit of other living Creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwiſe in its own Nature, becauſe it appeareth otherwiſe to them than it doth to me?

They are living Creatures as well as I: why then ſhould I condemn their Conceit and Fantaſy, concerning any Thing more than they may mine? they may be

be in the Truth and I in Error, as well as I in Truth, and they err. If my Conceit muſt be believed before theirs, great Reaſon that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this Proof muſt be either by Demonſtration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by Demonſtration, then this Demonſtration muſt ſeem to be true, or not ſeem to be true. If it ſeem to be true, then will it be a Queſtion, whether it be ſo indeed as it ſeemeth to be; and to alledge that for a certain Proof, which is uncertain and queſtionable, ſeemeth abſurd.

If it be ſaid, that the Imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward Object, than the Imagination of other living Creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (beſides that which is already ſaid) this is eaſily refuted by comparing of Man with other Creatures.

It is confeſſed the Dog excelleth Man in Smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is ſaid to be a two-fold Diſcourſe, one of the Mind, another of the Tongue, and that of the Mind is ſaid to be exerciſed in chuſing that which is convenient, and refuſing that which is hurtful in Knowledge, Juſtice, and Thankfulneſs: this Creature chuſeth his Food, refuſeth the Whip, fawneth on his Maſter, defendeth his Houſe, revengeth himſelf of thoſe Strangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus* the Dog of *Ulyſſes*, who knew his Maſter, having been from Home ſo many Years, that at his Return all the People of his Houſe had forgot him. This Creature, ſaith *Chryſippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any Beaſt he cometh to three ſeveral Ways, he ſmelleth to the one, and then to the ſecond; and if he find that the Beaſt which he purſueth be not fled one of theſe two Ways, he preſently without ſmelling any further to it, taketh the third Way: which, ſaith the ſame Philoſopher, is as if he reaſoned thus, the Beaſt muſt be gone either this,

this, or this, or the other Way; but neither this, nor this; *Ergo*, the third: and ſo away he runneth.

If we conſider his Skill in Phyſick, it is ſufficient to help himſelf; if he be wounded with a Dart, he uſeth the Help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanſe the Wound from Corruption: he ſeemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hippocrates*, who ſaith, 'That the Reſt of the Foot is the Phyſick 'of the Foot;' and therefore if his Foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may reſt: if he be ſick, he giveth himſelf a Vomit by eating of Graſs, and recovereth himſelf. The Dog then we ſee is plentifully furniſhed with inward Diſcourſe.

Now outward Speech is not needful to make a Creature reaſonable, elſe a dumb Man were an unreaſonable Creature.

And do not Philoſophers themſelves reject this as an Enemy to Knowledge? and therefore they are ſilent when they are inſtructed. And yet even as barbarous and ſtrange People have ſpeech, but we underſtand it not, neither do we perceive any great Difference in their Words; but a Difference there ſeemeth to be, and they do expreſs their Thoughts and Meanings one to another by thoſe Words: even ſo thoſe Creatures, which are commonly called unreaſonable, do ſeem to parly one with another, and by their Speech do underſtand one the other. Do not Birds by one Kind of Speech call their young ones, and by another cauſe them to hide themſelves? do they not by their ſeveral Voices expreſs their ſeveral Paſſions of Joy, of Grief, of Fear, in ſuch Manner, that their Fellows underſtand them? do they not by their Voice foreſhew Things to come? But we will return to that Creature we firſt did inſtance in. The Dog delivereth one Kind of Voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and

and another when he is angry. Theſe Creatures then are not void of outward Speech.

If then theſe Creatures excel Man in Senſe, and are equal to him in inward and outward Diſcourſe, why ſhould not their Conceits and Imaginations convey the outward Object in as true a Manner as ours? and if ſo, then ſeeing their Imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diverſly according to their divers Temperaments, I may tell what the outward Object ſeemeth to me; but what it ſeemeth to other Creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it ſeemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the Judgment of Man in this Caſe, is to be preferred before the Judgment of Beaſts; yet in Men there is great Difference, both in reſpect of the outward Shape, and alſo of the Temperature of their Bodies: for the Body of the *Scythian* differeth in Shape from the Body of the *Indian:* the Reaſon of it ariſeth (ſay the Dogmatiſts) from a Predominancy of Humours in the one more than in the other; and as ſeveral Humours are predominant, ſo are the Phantaſies and Conceits ſeverally framed and affected. So that our Countrymen delight in one Thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another, which we regard not. This would not be if their Conceits and ours were both alike; for then we ſhould like that which they do, and they would diſlike that which we would diſlike. It is evident alſo, that Men differ very much in the Temperature of their Bodies, elſe why ſhould ſome more eaſily digeſt Beef than Shell-fiſh? and others be mad for the Time, if they drink Wine? There was an old Woman about *Arbeus*, which drank three Drams of *Cicuta* (every Dram weighing ſixty Barley-corns, and eight Drams to an Ounce) without Hurt. *Lyſis*, without Hurt, took four Drams of Poppy; and *Demothon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he ſtood in the Sun, or in a hot Bath,

but very hot when he ſtood in the Shade. *Athenagoras* felt no Pain if a Scorpion ſtung him. And the *Pſilli* (a People in *Lybia*, whoſe Bodies are Venom to Serpents) if they be ſtung by Serpents, or Aſps, receive no Hurt at all.

The *Æthiopians*, which inhabit the River *Hydaſpis*, do eat Serpents and Scorpions without Danger. *Lothericus*, a Surgeon, at the Smell of a Sturgion, would be for the Time mad. *Andron* of *Argos* was ſo little thirſty, that without Want of Drink, he travelled through the hot and dry Country of *Lybia*. *Tiberius Cæſar* would ſee very well in the Dark. *Ariſtotle* mentioneth of *Thratius*, who ſaid, that the Image of a Man went always before him.

If then it be ſo, that there be ſuch Differences in Men, this muſt be by reaſon of the divers Temperatures they have, and divers Diſpoſitions of their Conceit and Imagination; for if one hate, and another love the very ſame Thing, it muſt be that their Fantaſies differ, elſe all would love it, or all would hate it. Theſe Men then, may tell how theſe Things ſeem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to Men's Opinions, concerning one and the ſame Matter, thinking thereby to come to the Knowledge of it, we ſhall find this to be impoſſible; for either we muſt believe what all Men ſay of it, or what ſome Men only ſay of it. To believe what all Men ſay of one and the ſame Thing is not poſſible; for then we ſhall believe Contrarieties; for ſome Men ſay, that that very Thing is pleaſant, which others ſay is diſpleaſant. If it be ſaid we muſt believe only ſome Men, then let it be ſhewed who thoſe Men are; for the *Platoniſts* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures Epicurus*, the *Pythagoreans Pythagoras*, and other Philoſophers the Maſters of their own Sects: So that it is doubtful, to which of all theſe we ſhall give credit.

dit. If it be ſaid we muſt credit the greateſt Number; this ſeemeth childiſh; for there may be amongſt other Nations a greater Number which deny that very Point, which the greateſt Number with us do affirm; ſo that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument ſeemeth to be further confirmed, if the Differences of the Senſes of Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching and Taſting be conſidered; for that the Senſes differ it ſeemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the Art of Slanting is uſed) appear to the Eye, as if the Parts of them were ſome higher, and ſome lower than the other, but to the Touch they ſeem not ſo.

Honey ſeemeth to the Tongue ſweet, but unpleaſant to the Eye; ſo Ointment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taſte. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how theſe Things ſeem to our ſeveral Senſes, but what they are in their own Nature we cannot tell; for why ſhould not a Man credit any one of his Senſes as well as the other?

Every Object ſeemeth to be preſented diverſly unto the ſeveral Inſtruments of Senſe. An Apple to the Touch ſeemeth ſmooth, ſweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of theſe Qualities only, or more than theſe Qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the ſame Blaſt of Wind, varied according to the Capacity of the ſeveral Pipes which receive it; even ſo the Quality of the Apple may be but one, and this one Quality may be varied, and ſeem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch ſmooth, and ſweet to the Smell, by reaſon of the divers Inſtruments of the Senſe, which apprehend this one Quality diverſly.

It may be alſo, that an Apple hath many Qualities beſides; but we are not able to conceive them all, becauſe we want fit Means and Inſtruments to appre-

hend them. For ſuppoſe that ſome Man is born blind and deaf, and yet can touch, ſmell, and taſte; this Man will not think that there is any Thing which may be ſeen or heard, becauſe he wanteth the Senſes of hearing and ſeeing; he will only think there are thoſe Qualities in the Object, which by reaſon of his three Senſes he conceiveth: even ſo the Apple may have many more Qualities; but we cannot come to know them, becauſe we want fit Inſtruments for that Purpoſe.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many Inſtruments of Senſe, as there are ſenſible Objects; I demand, what Nature? for there is a confuſed Controverſy about the very Eſſence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one Thing, others another, few agreeing: ſo that what the Quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one Quality or many, I know not.

Let a Man alſo conſider how many Things that are ſeparated, and by themſelves, appear to differ from that which they ſeem to be, when they are in a Maſs or Lump; the Scrapings of the Goat's Horn ſeems white, but in the Horn they ſeem black. The Stone *Tænarus*, being poliſhed, ſeemeth white, but unpoliſhed and rough, it ſeemeth yellow. Sands being ſeparated, appear rough to the Touch, but in a great Heap, ſoft. I may then report, how theſe Things appear, but whether they are ſo indeed, I know not.

Sir *WALTER RALEIGH*'s INSTRUCTIONS to his SON, And to POSTERITY.

CHAP. I.

Virtuous Perſons to be made choice of for Friends.

THERE is nothing more becoming any wiſe Man, than to make choice of Friends; for by them thou ſhalt be judg'd what thou art. Let them therefore be wiſe and virtuous, and none of thoſe that follow thee for Gain; but make Election rather of thy Betters than thy Inferiors, ſhunning always ſuch as are poor and needy; for if thou giveſt twenty Gifts, and refuſe to do the like but once, all that thou haſt done will be loſt, and ſuch

Men will become thy mortal Enemies. Take alſo ſpecial Care, that thou never truſt any Friend or Servant, with any Matter that may endanger thine Eſtate; for ſo ſhalt thou make thy ſelf a Bond-ſlave to him that thou truſteſt, and leave thy ſelf always to his Mercy. And be ſure of this, thou ſhalt never find a Friend in thy young Years, whoſe Conditions and Qualities will pleaſe thee after thou comeſt to more Diſcretion and Judgment; and then all thou giveſt is loſt, and all wherein thou ſhalt truſt ſuch a one, will be diſcovered. Such therefore as are thy Inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leaveſt to feed them, they will hate thee; and ſuch kind of Men, if thou preſerve thy Eſtate, will always be had: and if thy Friends be of better Quality than thy ſelf, thou mayſt be ſure of two things; the firſt, that they will be more careful to keep thy Counſel, becauſe they have more to loſe than thou haſt; the ſecond, they will eſteem thee for thyſelf, and not for that which thou doſt poſſeſs; but if thou be ſubject to any great Vanity or Ill, (from which I hope God will bleſs thee) then therein truſt no Man; for every Man's Folly ought to be his greateſt Secret. And although I perſuade thee to aſſociate thy ſelf with thy Betters, or at leaſt with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy Eſtate with any of thoſe great ones, that ſhall attempt unlawful Things, for ſuch Men labour for themſelves, and not for thee; thou ſhalt be ſure to part with them in the Danger, but not in the Honour; and to venture a ſure Eſtate in preſent, in Hope of a better in future, is meer Madneſs: and great Men forget ſuch as have done them Service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for ſaying thou haſt been a Means of their Advancement, than acknowledge it.

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I could give thee a thouſand Examples, and I my ſelf know it, and have taſted it in all the Courſe of my Life; when thou ſhalt read and obſerve the Stories of all Nations, thou ſhalt find innumerable Examples of the like: Let thy Love therefore be to the beſt, ſo long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Country, thy Prince, and thine own Eſtate, before all others; for the Fancies of Men change, and hethat loves To-day, hateth To-morrow; but let Reaſon be thy School-miſtreſs, which ſhall ever guide thee aright.

CHAP. II.

Great Care to be had in the chuſing of a Wife.

THE next and greateſt Care ought to be in the Choice of a Wife, and the only Danger therein, is Beauty, by which all Men in all Ages, wiſe and fooliſh, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to uſe Reaſons or Arguments, to diſſwade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever reſiſted that Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other Things, which may be thy Ruin and Deſtruction. For the preſent Time, it is true, that every Man prefers his Fantaſie in that Appetite, before all other wordly Deſires, leaving the Care of Honour, Credit, and Safety in reſpect thereof: But remember, that though theſe Affections do not laſt, yet the Bond of Marriage dureth to the End of thy Life; and therefore better to be born withal in a Miſtreſs, than in a Wife, for when thy Humour ſhall change, thou art yet free to chuſe again, (if thou give thy ſelf that vain Liberty.) Remember, ſecondly, that if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindeſt thy ſelf all thy Life for that, which per-

chance will never laſt nor pleaſe thee one Year; and when thou haſt it, it will be to thee of no Price at all, for the Deſire dieth when it is attained, and the Affection periſheth, when it is ſatisfied. Remember, when thou wert a ſucking Child, that then thou didſt love thy Nurſe, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didſt love thy Dry-nurſe, and didſt forget the other; after that thou didſt alſo deſpiſe her; ſo will it be with thee in thy liking in elder Years; and therefore, though thou canſt not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou ſhalt find an Alteration in thy ſelf, and ſee another far more pleaſing than the firſt, ſecond, or third Love; yet I wiſh thee above all the reſt, have a care thou doſt not marry an uncomely Woman for any Reſpect; for Comelineſs in Children is Riches, if nothing elſe be left them. And if thou have care for thy Races of Horſes, and other Beaſts, value the Shape and Comelineſs of thy Children, before Alliances or Riches: Have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair Wife, and a poor one, if thine own Eſtate be not great, aſſure thy ſelf that Love abideth not with Want; for ſhe is thy Companion of Plenty and Honour: for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made diſhoneſt by one or other in the End. This *Bathſheba* taught her Son *Solomon*; *Favour is deceitful, and Beauty is Vanity:* ſhe ſaith further, *That a wiſe Woman overſeeth the Ways of her Houſhold, and eateth not the Bread of Idleneſs.*

Have therefore ever more Care, that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thy ſelf beſotted on her; and thou ſhalt judge of her Love by theſe two Obſervations: Firſt, if thou perceive ſhe have a Care of thy Eſtate, and exerciſe her ſelf therein; the other, if ſhe ſtudy to pleaſe thee and be ſweet unto thee in Converſation, without thy Inſtruction, for Love needs no teaching, nor Precept. On the other Side, be not

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ſowr or ſtern to thy Wife; for Cruelty engendreth no other Thing than Hatred: Let her have equal Part of thy Eſtate whilſt thou liveſt, if thou find her ſparing and honeſt, but what thou giveſt after thy Death, remember that thou giveſt it to a Stranger, and moſt Times to an Enemy; for he that ſhall marry thy Wife, will deſpiſe thee, thy Memory, and thine, and ſhall poſſeſs the Quiet of thy Labours, the Fruit which thou haſt planted, enjoy thy Love, and ſpend with Joy and Eaſe what thou haſt ſpared and gotten with Care and Travel: Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy Wife to be a Shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that ſhe may live according to thy Eſtate; eſpecially, if thou haſt few Children, and them provided for. But howſoever it be, or whatſoever thou find, leave thy Wife no more than of Neceſſity thou muſt, but only during her Widowhood; for if ſhe love again; let her not enjoy her ſecond Love in the ſame Bed wherein ſhe loved thee, nor fly to future Pleaſures with thoſe Feathers which Death hath pulled from thy Wings; but leave thy Eſtate to thy Houſe and Children, in which thou liveſt upon Earth whilſt it laſteth. To conclude; Wives, were ordained to continue the Generation of Men, not to transfer them, and diminiſh them, either in Continuance or Ability; and therefore thy Houſe and Eſtate, which liveth in thy Son, and not in thy Wife, is to be preferred. Let thy Time of Marriage be in thy young and ſtrong Years; for believe it, ever the young Wife betrayeth the old Huſband, and ſhe that had thee not in thy Flower, will deſpiſe thee in thy Fall, and thou ſhalt be unto her but a Captivity and Sorrow. Thy beſt Time will be towards thirty, for as the younger Times are unfit, either to chuſe, or to govern a Wife, and Family; ſo if thou ſtay long, thou ſhalt hardly ſee the Education of thy Children, which being left to Strangers, are in Effect loſt; and better were it to be unborn, than ill-

ill-bred; for thereby thy Poſterity ſhall either periſh, or remain a Shame to thy Name and Family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a Wife, thou ſhalt ſpend thy Prime and Summer of thy Life with Harlots, deſtroy thy Health, impoveriſh thy Eſtate, and endanger thy Life; and be ſure of this, that how many Miſtreſſes ſoever thou haſt, ſo many Enemies thou ſhalt purchaſe to thy ſelf; for there never was any ſuch Affection, which ended not in Hatred or Diſdain: Remember the Saying of *Solomon*, *There is a Way which ſeemeth right to a Man, but the Iſſues thereof are the Wages of Death*; for howſoever a lewd Woman pleaſe thee for a Time, thou wilt hate her in the End, and ſhe will ſtudy to deſtroy thee. If thou canſt not abſtain from them in thy vain and unbridled Times; yet remember that thou ſoweſt on the Sands, and doſt mingle thy vital Blood with Corruption, and purchaſeſt Diſeaſes, Repentance, and Hatred only. Beſtow therefore thy Youth ſo, that thou mayſt have Comfort to remember it, when it hath forſaken thee, and not ſigh and grieve at the Account thereof: whilſt thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an End; but behold, the longeſt Day, hath his Evening, and that thou ſhalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again: Uſe it therefore as the Spring-time, which ſoon departeth, and wherein thou oughteſt to plant and ſow all Proviſions for a long and happy Life.

CHAP. III.

Wiſeſt Men have been abuſed by Flatterers.

TAke Care thou be not made a Fool by Flatterers, for even the wiſeſt Men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that Flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitors; for they will ſtrengthen thy Imperfections,

encourage thee in all Evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo ſhadow, and paint all thy Vices, and Follies, as thou ſhalt never, by their Will, diſcern Evil from Good, or Vice from Virtue. And becauſe all Men are apt to flatter themſelves, to entertain the Additions of other Men's Praiſes, is moſt perilous. Do not therefore praiſe thy ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious Fool, neither take Delight in the Praiſes of other Men, except thou deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as are worthy and honeſt, and will withal warn thee of thy Faults; for Flatterers have never any Virtue, they are ever baſe, creeping, cowardly Perſons. A Flatterer is ſaid to be a Beaſt that biteth ſmiling; it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this Manner: *My People, they that praiſe thee, ſeduce thee and diſorder the Paths of thy Feet:* and *David* deſired God to cut out the Tongue of as a Flatterer. But it is hard to know them from Friends, they are ſo obſequious, and full of Proteſtations; for a Wolf reſembles a Dog, ſo doth a Flatterer a Friend. A Flatterer is compared to an Ape, who becauſe ſhe cannot defend the Houſe like a Dog, labour as an Ox, or bear Burdens as a Horſe, doth therefore yet play Tricks, and provoke Laughter: Thou mayſt be ſure that he that will in private tell thee thy Faults, is thy Friend, for he adventures thy Miſlike, and doth hazard thy Hatred; for there are few Men that can endure it, every Man for the moſt Part delighting in Self-praiſe, which is one of the moſt univerſal Follies which bewitcheth Mankind.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Private Quarrels to be avoided.

BE careful to avoid publick Diſputations at Feaſts, or at Tables among cholerick or quarrelſome Perſons; and eſchew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with Ruffians; for thou ſhalt be in as much Danger in contending with a Brawler in a private Quarrel, as in a Battle, wherein thou maſt get Honour to thy ſelf, and Safety to thy Prince and Country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thyſelf bravely, that they may fear thee after. To ſhun therefore private Fight, be well adviſed in thy Words and Behaviour, for Honour and Shame is in the Talk, and the Tongue of a Man cauſeth him to fall.

Jeſt not openly at thoſe that are ſimple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiſer. Defame not any Woman publickly, though thou know her to be evil; for thoſe that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will ſeek to be avenged of thee, and thoſe that are not guilty, cannot endure unjuſt Reproach. And as there is nothing more ſhameful and diſhoneſt, than to do Wrong, ſo Truth itſelf cutteth his Throat that carrieth her publickly in every Place. Remember the divine Saying, *He that keepeth his Mouth, keepeth his Life.* Do therefore right to all Men, where it may profit them, and thou ſhalt thereby get much Love, and forbear to ſpeak evil Things of Men, though it be true (if thou be not conſtrained) and thereby thou ſhalt avoid Malice and Revenge.

Do not accuſe any Man of any Crime, if it be not to ſave thy ſelf, thy Prince, or Country; for there is nothing more diſhonourable (next to Treaſon it ſelf) than to

to be an Accuſer. Notwithſtanding I would not have thee for any Reſpect, loſe thy Reputation, or endure public Diſgrace; for better it were not to live than to live a Coward, if the Offence proceed not from thy ſelf; if it do, it ſhall be better to compound it upon good Terms, than to hazard thy ſelf; for if thou overcome, thou art under the Cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or diſhonoured. If thou therefore contend, or diſcourſe in Argument; let it be with wiſe and ſober Men, of whom thou muſt learn by reaſoning, and not with ignorant Perſons; for thou ſhalt thereby inſtruct thoſe that will not thank thee, and utter, what they have learned from thee, for their own; but if thou know more than other Men, utter it when it may do thee Honour, and not in Aſſemblies of ignorant and common Perſons.

Speaking much alſo, is a Sign of Vanity; for he that is laviſh in Words, is a Niggard in Deeds; and as *Solomon* ſaith, *The Mouth of a wiſe Man is in his Heart, the Heart of a Fool is in his Mouth, becauſe what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth.* And by thy Words and Diſcourſes, Men will judge thee. For as *Socrates* ſaith, *Such as thy Words are, ſuch will thy Affections be eſteemed; and ſuch will thy Deeds as thy Affections, and ſuch thy Life as thy Deeds.* Therefore be adviſed what thou doſt diſcourſe of, and what thou maintaineſt; whether touching Religion, State, or Vanity; for if thou err in the firſt, thou ſhalt be accounted profane; if in the ſecond, dangerous; if in the third, indiſcreet and fooliſh: He that cannot refrain from much ſpeaking, is like a City without Walls, and leſs Pains in the World a Man cannot take, than to hold his Tongue; therefore if thou obſerveſt this Rule in all Aſſemblies, thou ſhalt ſeldom err: reſtrain thy Choler, hearken much, and ſpeak little; for the Tongue is the Inſtrument of the greateſt Good, and greateſt Evil that is done in the World.

According

According to *Solomon*, *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue:* and as *Euripides* truly affirmeth, *Every unbridled Tongue in the End ſhall find it ſelf unfortunate*; for in all that ever I obſerved in the Courſe of worldly Things, I ever found that Men's Fortunes are oftner made by their Tongues than by their Virtues, and more Men's Fortunes overthrown thereby alſo, than by their Vices. And to conclue, all Quarrels, Miſchief, Hatred, and Deſtruction, ariſe from unadviſed Speech, and in much Speech there are many Errors, out of which thy Enemies ſhall ever take the moſt dangerous Advantage. And as thou ſhalt be happy, if thou thy ſelf obſerve theſe Things, ſo ſhall it be moſt profitable for thee to avoid their Companies that err in that Kind, and not to hearken to Talebearers, to inquiſitive Perſons, and ſuch as buſy themſelves with other Men's Eſtates, that creep into Houſes as Spies, to learn News which concerns them not; for aſſure thy ſelf ſuch Perſons are moſt baſe and unworthy, and I never knew any of them proſper, or reſpected amongſt worthy or wiſe Men.

Take Heed alſo that thou be not found a Liar; for a lying Spirit is hateful both to God and Man. A Liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow Truth. A Liar is truſted of no Man, he can have no Credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more Arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. *John* ſaith, *That it is a Vice proper to Satan*, Lying being oppoſite to the Nature of God, which conſiſteth in Truth; and the Gain of Lying is nothing elſe, but not to be truſted of any, nor to be believed when we ſay the Truth. It is ſaid in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth falſe Lips; and he that ſpeaketh Lies ſhall periſh.* Thus thou mayſt ſee and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a Liar is; and for the World, believe it, that it never did any Man good (except in the Extremity of ſaving Life;)

Life;) for a Liar is of a baſe, unworthy, and cowardly Spirit.

CHAP. V.

Three Rules to be obſerved for the Preſervation of a Man's Eſtate.

AMongſt all other Things of the World, take Care of thy Eſtate, which thou ſhalt ever preſerve, if thou obſerve three Things; Firſt, That thou know what thou haſt, what every Thing is worth that thou haſt, and to ſee that thou art not waſted by thy Servants and Officers. The ſecond is, That thou never ſpend any Thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the Canker and Death of every Man's Eſtate. The third is, That thou ſuffer not thy ſelf to be wounded for other Men's Faults, and ſcourged for other Men's Offences; which is, the Surety for another, for thereby Millions of Men have been beggared and deſtroyed, paying the Reckoning of other Men's Riot, and the Charge of other Men's Folly and Prodigality; if thou ſmart, ſmart for thine own Sins, and above all Things, be not made an Aſs to carry the Burdens of other Men: If any Friend deſire thee to be his Surety, give him a Part of what thou haſt to ſpare; if he preſs thee farther, he is not thy Friend at all, for Friendſhip rather chuſeth Harm to itſelf, than offereth it: If thou be bound for a Stranger, thou art a Fool; if for a Merchant, thou putteth thy Eſtate to learn to ſwim: If for a Churchman, he hath no Inheritance: If for a Lawyer, he will find an Evaſion by a Syllable or Word, to abuſe thee. If for a poor Man, thou muſt pay it thy ſelf: If for a rich Man, it need not: Therefore from Surety-ſhip, as from a Man-ſlayer, or Enchanter, bleſs thy

thy ſelf; for the beſt Profit and Return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himſelf, he will become thy Enemy; if thou uſe to pay it thy ſelf, thou wilt be a Beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy Thought, that what Virtue ſoever thou haſt, be it never ſo manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy Qualities ſhall be deſpiſed: Beſides, Poverty is oft-times ſent as a Curſe of God, it is a Shame amongſt Men, an Impriſonment of the Mind, a Vexation of every worthy Spirit; thou ſhalt neither help thy ſelf nor others, thou ſhalt drown thee in all thy Virtues, having no Means to ſhew them, thou ſhalt be a Burthen, and an Eyeſore to thy Friends, every Man will fear thy Company, thou ſhalt be driven baſely to beg; and depend on others, to flatter unworthy Men, to make diſhoneſt Shifts: And to conclude, Poverty provokes a Man to do infamous and deteſted Deeds: Let not Vanity therefore, or Perſuaſion, draw thee to that worſt of worldly Miſeries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee Pleaſure in Health, Comfort in Sickneſs, keep thy Mind and Body free, ſave thee from many Perils, relieve thee in thy elder Years, relieve the Poor, and thy honeſt Friends, and give Means to thy Poſterity to live, and defend themſelves, and thine own Fame. Where it is ſaid in the *Proverbs*, *That he ſhall be ſore vexed that is Surety for a Stranger, and he that hateth Suretyſhip, is ſure*; It is further ſaid, *The Poor is hated even of his own Neighbour, but the Rich have many Friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thyſelf, for if thou lendeſt him, count it but loſt; be not Surety above thy Power, for if thou be Surety, think to pay it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

What ſort of Servants are fitteſt to be entertained.

LET thy Servants be ſuch as thou may'ſt command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou giveſt Wages; for thoſe that will ſerve thee without thy Hire, will coſt thee treble as much as they that know thy Fare: If thou truſt any Servant with thy Purſe, be ſure thou take his Account e'er thou ſleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for Tedioufneſs neglect it. I my ſelf, have therefore loſt more than I am worth. And whatſoever thy Servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy Simplicity to Scorn; and beſides, 'tis the Way to make thy Servants Thieves, which elſe would be honeſt.

CHAP. VII.

Brave Rags wear ſooneſt out of Faſhion.

EXceed not in the Humour of Rags and Bravery, for theſe will ſoon wear out of Faſhion; but Money in thy Purſe will ever be in Faſhion; and no Man is eſteemed for gay Garments, but by Fools and Women.

CHAP. VIII.

Riches not to be ſought by evil Means.

ON the other ſide, take heed that thou ſeek not Riches baſely, nor attain them by evil Means; deſtroy no Man for his Wealth, nor take any thing

from the Poor; for the Cry and Complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is moſt deteſtable before God, and moſt diſhonourable before worthy Men, to wreſt any Thing from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never proſper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: But uſe thy poor Neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their Children to add Superfluity and needleſs Expences to thy ſelf. He that hath Pity on another Man's Sorrow, ſhall be free from it himſelf; and he that delighteth in, and ſcorneth the Miſery of another, ſhall one Time or other fall into it himſelf. Remember this Precept, *He that hath Mercy on the Poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompenſe him what he hath given.* I do not underſtand thoſe for poor, which are Vagabonds and Beggars, but thoſe that labour to live, ſuch as are old and cannot travel, ſuch poor Widows and fatherleſs Children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to Poverty by Miſchance, and not by Riot or careleſs Expences; on ſuch have thou Compaſſion, and God will bleſs thee for it. Make not the hungry Soul ſorrowful, defer not thy Gift to the needy, for if he curſe thee, in the Bitterneſs of his Soul, his Prayer ſhall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP. IX.

What Inconveniencies happen to ſuch as delight in Wine.

TAKE eſpecial Care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any Man that came to Honour or Preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a Man into a Beaſt, decayeth Health, poiſoneth the Breath, deſtroyeth natural Heat, brings a Man's Stomach

mach to an artificial Heat, deformeth the Face, roteth the Teeth, and to conclude, maketh a Man contemptible, ſoon old, and deſpiſed of all wiſe and worthy Men; hated in thy Servants, in thy ſelf and Companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious Vice: And remember my Words, that it were better for a Man to be ſubject to any Vice than to it; for all other Vanities and Sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never ſhake of the Delight of Beaſtlineſs; for the longer it poſſeſſeth a Man, the more he will delight in it; and the older he groweth, the more he ſhall be ſubject to it; for it dulleth the Spirits, and deſtroyeth the Body, as Ivy doth the old Tree; or as the Worm that ingendreth in the Kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that ſuch a cureleſs Canker paſs not thy Youth, nor ſuch a beaſtly Infection thy old Age; for then ſhall all thy Life be but as the Life of a Beaſt, and after thy Death, thou ſhalt only leave a ſhameful Infamy to thy Poſterity, who ſhall ſtudy to forget that ſuch a one was their Father. *Anacharſis* ſaith, *The firſt Draught ſerveth for Health, the ſecond for Pleaſure, the third for Shame, the fourth for Madneſs*; but in Youth there is not ſo much as one Draught permitted; for it putteth Fire to Fire; and waſteth the natural Heat and Seed of Generation. And therefore except thou deſire to haſten thine End, take this for a general Rule, that thou never add any artificial Heat to thy Body, by Wine or Spice, until thou find that Time hath decayed thy natural Heat, and the ſooner thou beginneſt to help Nature, the ſooner ſhe will forſake thee, and truſt altogether to Art: *Who have Misfortune*, ſaith *Solomon, who have Sorrow and Grief, who have Trouble without fighting, Stripes without Cauſe, and Faintneſs of Eyes? even they that ſit at Wine, and ſtrain themſelves to empty Cups.* Pliny ſaith, *Wine maketh the Hand quivering, the Eyes watry, the*

Night unquiet, lewd Dreams, a ſtinking Breath in the Morning, and an utter Forgetfulneſs of all Things.

Whoſoever loveth Wine, ſhall not be truſted of any Man, for he cannot keep a Secret. Wine maketh Man not only a Beaſt, but a Mad-man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children and thy Friends will deſpiſe thee. In Drink, Men care not what they ſay, what Offence they give; they forget Comelineſs, commit Diſorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honeſt Company, and God moſt of all, to whom we daily pray for Health, and a Life free from Pain: and yet by Drunkenneſs, and Gluttony, (which is the Drunkenneſs of Feeding) we draw on, ſaith *Heſiod*, a ſwift, haſty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old Age. And St. *Auguſtine* deſcribeth Drunkenneſs in this Manner: *Ebrietas eſt blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum, ſuave peccatum; quod, qui habet, ſeipſum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum non facit, ſed ipſe eſt peccatum.*

Drunkenneſs is a flattering Devil, a ſweet Poiſon, a pleaſant Sin, which whoſoever hath, hath not himſelf, which whoſoever doth commit, doth not commit Sin, but he himſelf is wholly Sin.

Innocentius ſaith, *Quid turpius ebrioſo, cui fætor in Ore, tremor in Corpore, qui promit Stulta, prodit occulta, cui Mens alienatur, facies transformatur? nullum ſecretum ubi regnat Ebrietas & quid non aliud deſignat malum? Fæcundi Calices quem non fecere diſertum?*

What is filthier than a drunken Man, to whom there is Stink in the Mouth, trembling in the Body; which uttereth fooliſh things, and revealeth ſecret Things; whoſe Mind is alienate, and Face transformed? There is no Secreſy where Drunkenneſs rules; nay, what other Miſchief doth it not deſign? Whom have not plentiful Cups made eloquent and talking?

When *Diogenes* ſaw a Houſe to be ſold, whereof the Owner was given to Drink, I thought at the laſt, quoth *Diogenes*, he would ſpue out a whole Houſe; *Sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

CHAP. X.

Let God be thy Protector, and Director in all thy Actions.

NOW for the World, I know it too well to perſuade thee to dive into the Practices thereof; rather ſtand upon thine own Guard againſt all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practiſe upon thee in thy Conſcience, thy Reputation, or thy Purſe; reſolve that no Man is wiſe or ſafe, but he that is honeſt.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy Actions, commend all thy Endeavours to him that muſt either wither or proſper them, pleaſe him with Prayer, leſt if he frown he confound all thy Fortunes and Labours, like the Drops of Rain on the ſandy Ground. Let my experienced Advice, and fatherly Inſtructions, ſink deep into thy Heart. So God direct thee in all his Ways, and fill thy Heart with his Grace.

LETTERS.

To Prince Henry; *touching the Model of a Ship.*

Moſt excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highneſs intends to build, be bigger than the *Victory*, than her Beams which are laid overthwart from Side to Side will not ſerve again, and many other of her Timbers and other Stuff, will not ſerve, whereas if ſhe be a ſize leſs, the Timber of the old Ship will ſerve well to the building of a new.

If ſhe be bigger ſhe will be of leſs Uſe, go very deep to Water, and of mighty Charge, our Channels decaying every Year, leſs nimble, leſs managable, and ſeldom to be uſed. *Grande Navio grande fatica*, ſaith the *Spaniard.*

A Ship of ſix hundred Tuns will carry as good Ordnance as a Ship of twelve hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordnance, the leſs will turn her Broadſide twice before the great Ship can wind once, and ſo no Advantage in that Overplus

of Guns. The leſſer will go over clear, where the greater ſhall ſtick and periſh; the leſſer will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is ſlow, unmanniable, and ever full of Encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, theſe Things are chiefly required,

1. That ſhe be ſtrong built.
2. Swift in Sail.
3. Stout-ſided.
4. That her Ports be ſo laid as that ſhe may carry out her Guns all Weathers.
5. That ſhe hull and try well.
6. That ſhe ſtay well, when boarding, or turning on a Wind is required.

To make her ſtrong, conſiſteth in the Care and Truth of the Workman; to make her ſwift is to give her a large Run or Way forward, and ſo afterward, done by Art and juſt Proportion, and that in laying out her Bows before, and Quarters behind, the Shipwright be ſure that ſhe neither ſink nor hang into the Water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the Speed in Sailing utterly ſpoiled.

That ſhe be ſtout ſided, the ſame is provided by a long bearing Floar, and by ſharing off from above Water to the lower Edge of the Ports, which done, then will ſhe carry out her Ordnance all Weathers.

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good Sea Ship, there are two Things principally to be regarded, the one that ſhe have a good Draught of Water, the other that ſhe be not overcharged: And this is ſeldom done in the King's Ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main Courſe and Mizen, which with a deep Keel and ſtanding Streak ſhe would perform.

The extreme length of a Ship makes her unapt to ſtay, eſpecially if ſhe be floaty, and want Sharpneſs

of

of Way forward. And it is moſt true, that ſuch over long Ships, are fitter for the narrow Seas in Summer, than for the Ocean, or long Voyages: And therefore an hundred Foot by the Keel, and thirty five Foot broad, is a good Proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships ſharp before, not having a long Floar, will fall rough into the Sea from a Billow, and take in Water over Head and Ears; and the ſame Quality have all narrow quartered Ships to ſink after the Tail. The high charging of Ships, is that that brings many ill Qualities, it makes them extreme Lee-ward, makes them ſink deep into the Seas, makes them labour ſore in foul Weather, and oftimes overſet. Safety is more to be reſpected than Shews, or Niceneſs for Eaſe; in Sea-Journeys both cannot well ſtand together, and therefore the moſt neceſſary is to be choſen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Maſter's Cabbin. Our Maſters and Mariners will ſay, that the Ships will beat more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners ſerved in them. But Men of better Sort, unuſed to ſuch a Life, cannot ſo well endure the rowling and tumbling from Side to Side, where the Seas are never ſo little grown, which comes by high Charging. Beſides thoſe high Cabbin works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear Men with their Splinters.

Above all other Things, have care that the great Guns be four Foot clear above Water when all lading is in, or elſe theſe beſt Pieces are idle at Sea: For if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that Default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen loſt, in the Days of *Henry* the Eighth, before the Iſle of *Wight*, in a Ship called by the Name of *Mary-Roſe*.

Sir

To Mr. Secretary Winwood, *before his Journey to* Guiana.

Honoured Sir,

I Was lately perſuaded by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with ſome Offers of mine made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of Opinion, that it would be better underſtood now, than when it was firſt propounded, which Advice having ſurmounted my Deſpair, I have preſumed to ſend unto your Honour the Copies of thoſe Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majeſty, and to the Treaſurer *Cecil*, wherein as well the Reaſons that firſt moved me are remembred, as the Objections by him made, are briefly anſwered.

What I know of the Riches of that Place, not by Hearſay, but what mine Eyes have ſeen, I have ſaid it often, but it was then to no End: Becauſe thoſe that had the greateſt Truſt, were reſolved not to believe it, not becauſe they doubted the Truth, but becauſe they doubted my Diſpoſition towards themſelves; where (if God had bleſſed me in the Enterpriſe) I had recovered his Majeſty's Favour and good Opinion. Other Cauſe than this, or other Suſpicion they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extreme curious in ſearching out the Nature of my Offences. The Queen's Majeſty hath informed her ſelf from the Beginning; the King of *Denmark* at both Times of his being here was thoroughly ſatisfied of my Innocency; they would otherwiſe never have moved his Majeſty on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not uſe to ſue for Men ſuſpect; but, Sir, ſince they all have done it out of their Charity, and but with References to me alone, your Honour (whoſe Reſpect hath only

only Relation to his Majeſty's Service) ſtrengthned by the Example of thoſe Princes, may with the more Hardineſs do the like, being Princes to whom his Majeſty's good Eſtate is no leſs dear; and all Men that ſhall oppugn it no leſs hateful, than to the King himſelf.

It is true, Sir, That his Majeſty hath ſometimes anſwered, that his Counſel knew me better than he did; meaning ſome two or three of them; and it was indeed my Infelicity; for had his Majeſty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majeſty, they had never been ſo long there where they now are. His Majeſty not knowing of me hath been my Ruin, and his Majeſty misknowing of them, hath been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Eſtate: But they are all of them now, ſome living and ſome dying, come to his Majeſty's Knowledge. But Sir, how little ſoever his Majeſty knew me, and how much ſoever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majeſty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majeſty, nor Life, nor ought elſe had remained. In this Reſpect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the ſame Life, and all I have for his Majeſty's Service: To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World.

Walter Raleigh.

[*To his Wife, from* Guiana.

Sweet Heart,

I Can write unto you but with a weak Hand, for I have ſuffered the moſt violent Calenture for fifteen Days that ever Man did, and lived: But God that gave me a ſtrong Heart in all my Adverſities, hath alſo now ſtrengthned it in the Hell-fire of Heat.

We

We have had two moſt grievous Sickneſſes in our Ship, of which forty two have died, and there are yet many ſick, but having recovered the Land of *Guiana*, this 12*th* of *November*, I hope we ſhall recover them. We are yet two hundred Men, and the reſt of our Fleet are reaſonable ſtrong, ſtrong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent Care at *London* to make our Strength known to the *Spaniſh* King by his Ambaſſador, have not taught the *Spaniſh* King to fortify all the Entrances againſt us. Howſoever we muſt make the Adventure, and if we periſh it ſhall be no Honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majeſty to loſe among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* baſe coming from us at the *Canaries*, ſee a Letter of *Kemiſhes* to Mr. *Scony*, and of the unnatural Weather, Storms, and Rains, and Winds. He hath in the ſame Letter given a Touch of the Way that hath ever been ſailed in fourteen Days, now hardly performed in forty Days. God, I truſt, will give us Comfort in that which is to come.

In my Paſſage to the *Canaries*, I ſtayed at *Gomerah*, where I took Water in Peace, becauſe the Country durſt not deny it me. I received there of an *Engliſh* Race, a Preſent of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, and Pomegranates without which I could not have lived; thoſe I preſerved in freſh Sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreſhing. Your Son had never ſo good Health, having no Diſtemper in all the Heat under the Line. All my Servants have eſcaped, but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the Sickneſs. *Croſts* and *March*, and the reſt are all well. Remember my Service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr. Secretary *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but Miſeries: Yet of Men of Sort, we have loſt our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigot*, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Edward Haſtings*, who would have died at Home, for

for both his Liver, Spleen and Brains were rotten. My Son's Lieutenant *Payton*, and my Couſin Mr. *Hews*, Mr. *Mordant*, Mr. *Gardiner*, Mr. *Hayward*, Captain *Jenning* the Merchant, *Kemiſh* of *London*, and the Maſter Chyrurgeon, Mr. *Reſiner*, Mr. *Moor* the Governour of the *Barmoudas*, our Provoſt Marſhal *William Steed*, Lieutenant *Veſcie*, but to mine ineſtimable Grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I truſt you ſhall hear better of us, in God's Hands we were, and in him we truſt.

The Bearer, Captain *Allen*, for his Infirmity of his Head I have ſent back, an honeſt valiant Man, he can deliver you all that is paſt. Commend me to my worthy Friends at *Lethbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and Mr. *Bower*, whoſe Nephew *Knevit* is well, and to my Couſin *Blundel*, and my moſt devoted and humble Service to her Majeſty.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a Vanity, but my Name hath ſtill lived amongſt them; here they feed me with freſh Meat, and all that the Country yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my Son.

From Galliana *in* Guiana, *the fourteenth of* November.

To Sir Ralph Winwood.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Paſſages towards the *Indies*, ſo have I no other Subject to write of, than of the greateſt Misfortunes that ever befel any Man: For whereas for the firſt, all thoſe that navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America*, do paſs it between fifteen or twenty Days at moſt, we found the Wind ſo contrary, and (which are alſo contrary to Nature,)

ſo

ſo many Storms and Rains, as we ſpent ſix Weeks in the Paſſage, by Reaſon whereof, and that in ſo great Heat we wanted Water: For at the Iſle *Prano* off *Cape de Verd*, we loſt our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Caſks, being driven from the Iſland with a *Hurricano*, we were like all to have periſhed. Great Sickneſs alſo fell amongſt us, and carried away great Numbers of our ableſt Men both for Sea and Land. The ſeventeenth of *November*, we had ſight of *Guiana*, and ſoon after came to anchor in five Degrees at the River *Galliano*, there we ſtaid till the fourth of *December*, landed our ſick Men, ſet up the Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of *England* in Quarters, waſhed our Ships, and took in freſh Water, being fed and cheriſhed by the *Indians* of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Reſpect. My ſelf being in the Hands of Death theſe ſix Weeks, and was not able otherwiſe to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave Order to five ſmall Ships, to ſail into *Oroonoko*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mines, and in thoſe five Ships, five Companies of fifty under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat which they have endured; my Son had the third Company; Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company; Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the Fifth: But as my Serjeant Major, Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countries*, died in the former miſerable Paſſage, ſo now my Lieutenant Sir *Warham* S. *Leiger* lay ſick without Hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had alſo ſerved long with infinite Commendations; but by Reaſon of my Abſence, and of Sir *Warham*'s, was not ſo well obeyed as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſſed up the River, the *Spaniard* began the War, and ſhot at us both with their Ordnance and Muſkets, whereupon the Companies were forced to charge

charge them, and ſoon after beat them out of the Town. In the Aſſault, my Son (more deſirous of Honour than Safety) was ſlain, with whom (to ſay Truth) all the Reſpects of this World have taken End in me. And although theſe five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongſt them ſome twenty or thirty valiant and adventurous Gentlemen, and of ſingular Courage; as of my Son's Company, Mr. *Knivet*, Mr. *Hammon*, Mr. *Langworth*, Mr. *John Pleaſington*; his Officers, Sir *John Heydon*, Mr. *Simon Leak* Corporal of the Field, Mr. *Hammon* the elder Brother, Mr. *Nicholas* of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Roberts* of *Kent*, Mr. *Perin*, Mr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Mollinax*, Mr. *Winter* and his Brother, Mr. *Wray*, Mr. *Miles Herbert*, Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Captain *Hall*, and others.

Sir, I have ſet down the Names of theſe Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majeſty ſhall have Cauſe to uſe their Service, it may pleaſe you to take Notice of them for very ſufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships ſtaid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The ſecond Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) I dare ſay he is one of the ſufficienteſt Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by Sir *Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir *John Fern*: The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With theſe five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they ſet upon us, our Force divided, the one half in *Oroonoko*, an hundred and fifty Miles from us, we had not only been torn in Pieces, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed, being of no Force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had reſolved to have been burnt by their Sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike they ſtaid for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we muſt paſs towards the *Indies*; for it pleaſed his Majeſty to value us at ſo little, as to com-

mand me upon my Allegiance, to ſet down under my Hand the Country, and the very River by which I was to enter it, to ſet down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and by him ſent to the King of *Spain*, a Diſpatch was made, and Letters ſent from *Madrid*, before my Departure out of the *Thames*; for his firſt Letter ſent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the *19th* of *March* 1617 at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here incloſed ſent to your Honour; the reſt I reſerve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The ſecond by the King dated the ſecond of *May*, ſent alſo by a Colonel of *Diego de Palomege*, Governor of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Biſhop of *Portericbe*, and delivered to *Palomege* the *15th* of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was ſent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Cuſtoms in the *Indies*. At the ſame Time, by that of the King's Hand, ſent by the Biſhop, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeedy levying of three hundred Soldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance to be ſent from *Portericbo*, for the Defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fifty from *Nuevo Remo de Granada*, under the Command of Captain *Anthony Muſica*: and the other hundred and fifty from *Portericbo*, to be conducted by Captain *Fran. Lauelio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* ſince His Majeſty's Time knew that the *Spaniards* have flayed alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchantmen, what Death and cruel Torment ſhall we expect if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed groſly, we being ſet out thence as we were, and diſcovered, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Laſtly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine (although I know his Majeſty whom I am to ſatisfy, expects not ſo much at my Hands) my ſelf, having

having loſt my Son, and my Eſtate in the Enterprize, yet it is true that the *Spaniards* took more Care to defend the Paſſage leading unto it, than they did for the Town, which by the King's Inſtructions they might eaſily do, the Countries being *aſpera & nemeroſa.*

But it is true, that when Captain *Kemiſh* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in moſt Places near the Mine by a Mile, and when he found a Deſcent, a Volley of Shot came from the Woods upon the Boat and ſlew two Rowers, and hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman, Captain *Thornix*, of which Wound he languiſheth to this day. He, to wit, *Kemiſh*, following his own Advice, thought that it was in vain to diſcover the Mine, for he gave me this for an Excuſe at his Return, that the Companies of *Engliſh* in the Town of St. *Thome* were not able to defend it, againſt the daily and nightly Aſſaults of the *Spaniards*; that the Paſſages to the Mines were of thick and unpaſſable Woods; and that the Mine being diſcovered, they had no Men to work it, and therefore he did not diſcover it at all: For it is true, the *Spaniards* having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Parava*, the ſecond by *Harmian Frotinno*, the third of Silver, by Captain *Franciſco*, they all lay ſtill for Want of *Negroes* to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be conſtrained by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth, ſo the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the Labour of theſe Mines, whatſoever the Bragadocio, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſaith; as I ſhall prove under the Proprietor's Hand, by the Cuſtom-book, and the King's Quinto, of which I received an Ingot or two: I ſhall alſo make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how eaſily thoſe Mines and five or ſix more of them may be poſſeſſed, and the moſt of them in thoſe Parts, which never as yet have heen attempted by any, nor any Paſſage to them ever diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But at *Kemiſh* his Re-

turn from *Oroonoko*, when I rejected his Counſel and his Courſe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King paſt Recovery, he ſlew himſelf: For I told him, that ſeeing my Son was ſlain, I cared not if I had loſt an hundred more in opening of the Mine, ſo my Credit had been ſaved: For I proteſt before God, had not Captain *Whitney* (to whom I gave more Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another Ship with him of Captain *Wolleſton's*, I would have left my Body at St. *Thomes* by my Son's, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, ſo much gold Oar, as ſhould have ſatisfied the King I propounded no vain Thing. What ſhall become of me I know not; I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor Eſtate conſumed; and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I deſire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lords of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, to take ſome Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her Sorrow for her Son; and beſeech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord *Carew*: For to a broken Mind, a ſick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have found many Things of Importance for diſcovering the State and Weakneſs of the *Indies*, which, if I live, I ſhall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I ſhall remain a faithful Servant.

Walter Raleigh.

To his Wife, copied out of his own Hand-writing.

I Was loath to write, becauſe I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what Sorrow meant till now. All that I can ſay to you is, that

that you muſt obey the Will and Providence of God, and remember, that the Queen's Majeſty bare the Loſs of Prince *Henry* with a magnanimous Heart, and the Lady *Harrington* of her only Son. Comfort your Heart (deareſt *Beſs*) I ſhall ſorrow for us both; and I ſhall ſorrow the leſs, becauſe I have not long to ſorrow, becauſe not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretary *Winwood*'s Letter, who will give you a Copy of it, if you ſend for it; therein you ſhall know what hath paſſed; which I have written by that Letter, for my Brains are broken, and it is a Torment to me to write, eſpecially of Miſery. I have deſired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord *Carew* a Copy of his Letter. I have cleanſed my Ship of ſick Men, and ſent them home: And hope that God will ſend us ſomewhat before we return. Commend me to all at *Lothbary:* You ſhall hear from me, if I live, from *New-found-land*, where I mean to clean my Ships and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bleſs and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the Death of your moſt valiant Son.

This 22*d of* March, *from the Iſle of* Chriſtophers, *yours*

Walter Raleigh.

Poſt-ſcript.

I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that as Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins* died heart-broken when they failed of their Enterprize, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend againſt Sorrow for your Sake, in Hope to provide ſomewhat for you, to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, reſolve your ſelf that it is the Care for you that hath ſtrengthned my Heart. It is true, that *Kemiſh* might have gone directly to the Mine, and meant it; but after my Son's Death, he made them believe that he knew not the Way, and excuſed himſelf upon the Want of Water

in the River, and counterfeiting many Impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my Credit was loſt for ever; he anſwered, that when my Son was loſt, and that he left me ſo weak, that he thought not to find me alive, he had no Reaſon to enrich a Company of Raſcals, who after my Son's Death made no Account of him. He further told me, that the *Engliſh* ſent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the *Spaniſh* Town of St. *Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to paſs through thick Woods, it was impoſſible, and more impoſſible to have Victuals brought them into the Mountains. And it is true that the Governour *Diego Palomeque*, and other four Captains being ſlain, whereof my Son *Wat* ſlew one, *Pleſſington*, *Wat*'s Serjeant, and *John* of *Moroccoes*, one of his Men, ſlew two. I ſaw five of them ſlain in the Entrance of the Town, the reſt went off in a whole Body, and each took more Care to defend the Paſſages to their Mines (of which they had three within a League of the Town, beſides a Mine that was about five Miles off) than they did of the Town itſelf. Yet *Kemiſh* at the firſt was reſolved to go to the Mine; but when he came to the Bank-ſide to land, he had two of his Men ſlain outright from the Bank, and ſix others hurt, and Captain *Thornix* ſhot in the Head, of which Wound, and the Accident thereof, he hath pined away theſe twelve Weeks.

Now when *Kemiſh* came back and gave me the former Reaſons which moved him not to open the Mine, the one the Death of my Son, a ſecond the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, and their Impoſſibilities to work it and to be victualled, a third that it were a Folly to diſcover it for the *Spaniards*; and laſtly, my Weakneſs, and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all theſe his Arguments, and told him, that I muſt leave him to himſelf to anſwer it to the King and State, he ſhut himſelf into his Cabbin, and ſhot himſelf with a Pocket Piſtol,

Piſtol, which broke one of his Ribs; and finding that he had not prevailed, he thruſt a long Knife under his ſhort Ribs up to the Handle, and died. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whoſe Letters I refer you; but becauſe I think my Friends, will rather hearken after you than any other to know the Truth, I did after the Sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in Brief the State of that Buſineſs, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scorie*, and to Sir *John Leigh*.

For the reſt, there was never poor Man ſo expoſed to the Slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to ſet down not only the Country, but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships Number, Men, and my Artillery; this was ſent by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to his Maſter the King of *Spain*. The King wrote his Letters to all Parts of the *Indies*, eſpecially to the Governor *Palameque* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*; of which the firſt Letter bore Date 19*th* of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have ſent to Mr. Secretary. I have alſo two other Letters of the King's which I reſerve, and one of the Council's. The King alſo ſent a Commiſſion to levy three hundred Soldiers out of his Gariſons of *Nuevo Regno de Granado & Puarto Richo* with ten pieces of Braſs Ordnance to entertain us; he alſo prepared an *Armado* by Sea to ſet upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preſerved; if I live I ſhall make it known; my Brains are broken, and I cannot write much; I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney*, for whom I ſold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more Credit and Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Woolenſton* with him, ſo as I have now but five Ships, and one of thoſe I have ſent home; and in my Fly-boat, a Rabble of idle Raſcals, which

I know will not ſpare to wound me, but I care not. I am ſure there is never a baſe Slave in all the Fleet had taken the Pains and Care that I have done, that hath ſlept ſo little, and travelled ſo much; my Friends will not believe them; and for the reſt I care not; God in Heaven bleſs you and ſtrengthen your Heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

To Mr. Secretary Winwood.

SIR,

SINCE the Death of *Kemiſh*, it is confeſſed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward Friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the Mine within two Hours March from the River Side; but becauſe my Son was ſlain, myſelf unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no Reaſon to open the Mine either for the *Spaniard*, or for the King. They anſwered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted me myHeart's Deſire under the Great Seal. He replied, that the Grant to me was to a Man, *non Ens* in the Law, and therefore of no Force. This Diſcourſe they had, which I knew not of till after his Death: But when I was reſolved to write unto your Honour, he pray'd me to join with him in excuſing his not going to the Mine. I anſwered him I would not do it; but if himſelf could ſatisfy the King and State, that he had Reaſon not to open it, I ſhould be glad of it: But for my Part, I muſt avow that he knew it, and that he might without Loſs have done it; other Excuſes I would not frame: He told me that he would wait on me preſently, and give me better

better Satisfaction: But I was no ſooner come from him into my Cabin, but I heard a Piſtol go off over my Head, and ſending to know who ſhot it, Word was brought me that *Kemiſh* ſhot it out of his Cabbin Window to cleanſe it; and his Boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his Bed with much Blood by him, and looking in his Face ſaw him dead; the Piſtol being but little, did but crack his Rib, but turning him over, he found a long Knife in his Body, all but the Handle. Sir, I have ſent into *England* with my Couſen *Harbert* (a very valiant honeſt Gentleman) divers unworthy Perſons, good for nothing neither by Sea nor Land, and though it was at their own Suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beſeech your Honour, that the Scum of Men may not be believed of me, who have taken more Pains, and ſuffered more than the meaneſt Raſcal in the Ship; theſe being gone, I ſhall be able to keep the Sea until the End of *Auguſt*, with ſome four reaſonable good Ships. Sir, whereſoever God ſhall permit me to arrive in any Part of *Europe*, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I remain

Your Honour's

Servant

Walter Raleigh.

To King James *at his Return from* Guiana.

May it pleaſe yur moſt excellent Majeſty.

IF in my Journey outward bound I had my Men murthered at the Iſlands, and yet ſpared to take Revenge; if I did diſcharge ſome *Spaniſh* Barks tak-

en without Spoil; if I forbore all Parts of the *Spaniſh Indies*, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea Coaſts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*; where, without any Directions from me, a *Spaniſh* Village was burnt, which was new ſet up within three Miles of the Mine; by your Majeſty's Favour, I find no Reaſon why the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſhould complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murther twenty ſix *Engliſh* Men, tying them Back to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land, without ſo much as one Sword, and that it may not be lawful to your Majeſty's Subjects, being charged firſt by them, to repel Force by Force; we may juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Engliſh!*

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeachy* and other Places in the *Honduraes*, ſeated in the Heart of the *Spaniſh Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing ſaid unto them at their Return; and myſelf forbore to look into the *Indies*, becauſe I would not offend, I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable Sir *Walter Raleigh!*

If I have ſpent my poor Eſtate, loſt my Son, ſuffered by Sickneſs and otherwiſe a World of Miſeries; if I have reſiſted with manifeſt Hazard of my Life the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor, I could have made my ſelf rich; if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men and Nature itſelf do much prize, I voluntary loſt it; if when I was ſure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might elſewhere have ſold my Ship and Goods, and put five or ſix thouſand Pounds in my Purſe, and yet brought her into *England*; I beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that all this I have done, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid to your Majeſty, that your Majeſty had given Liberty and Truſt to a Man, whoſe End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majeſty's Truſt.

My

My Mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England*, I ſhould be undone; but I believed in your Majeſty's Goodneſs, more than in all their Arguments. Sure, I am the firſt that being free and able to enrich my ſelf, yet hath embraced Poverty and Peril. And as ſure I am, that my Example ſhall make me the laſt. But your Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and ſhall ever be,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble Vaſſal

Walter Raleigh.

To His Majeſty before his Trial at Wincheſter, *Anno Dom.* 1603.

IT is one Part of the Office of a juſt and worthy Prince, to hear the Complaints of his Vaſſals, eſpecially ſuch as are in great Miſery. I know that amongſt many Preſumptions gathered againſt me, your Majeſty hath been perſuaded, that I was one of them who were greatly diſcontented; and therefore the more likely to prove diſloyal; but the great God of Heaven and Earth ſo relieve me as I was the contrary; and I took it as a great Comfort to behold your Majeſty, always learning ſome good, and bettering my Knowledge, by hearing your Majeſty diſcourſe; and do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty not to believe any of thoſe, in my particular, who under Pretence of Offences to Kings, do eaſily work their particular Revenge. I truſt, no Man under Colour of making Examples, ſhall perſuade you to leave the Word *merciful* out of your Majeſty's Stile; for it will no leſs profit your Majeſty, and become your Greatneſs, than the Word *invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England*, are no leſs jealous of the King, than *Cæſar* was of *Pompey*'s Wife; who notwithſtanding ſhe was cleared

cleared for keeping Company with *Claudius*, yet for being ſuſpected, he condemned her: For my ſelf, I proteſt before the everlaſting God, (and I ſpeak it to my Maſter and Sovereign) that I never invented Treaſon, conſented to Treaſon, nor performed Treaſon againſt you; and yet I know I ſhall fall *in Manus eorum à quibus non poſſum evadere*, unleſs by your Majeſty's gracious Compaſſion I be ſuſtained. Our Law, therefore, moſt merciful Prince, knowing her own Cruelty, and knowing that ſhe is wont to compound Treaſons out of Preſumptions and Circumſtances, doth give this charitable Advice to the King her ſupreme: *Non ſolum ſapiens eſſet Rex, ſed & miſericors, ut cum ſapientia miſericordetur, & ſit juſtus; cum tutius ſit reddere rationem Miſericordiæ quam Judicii.* I do therefore, on the Knees of my Heart, beſeech your Majeſty to take Counſel from your own ſweet and comfortable Diſpoſition, and to remember that I have loved your Majeſty twenty Years, for which your Majeſty has given me no Reward; and it is fitter that I ſhould be indebted to my ſovereign Lord than the King to his poor Vaſſal. Save me therefore (moſt merciful Prince) that I may owe your Majeſty my Life itſelf, than which there cannot be a greater Debt; lend it me at leaſt (my Sovereign Lord) that I may pay it in your Service, when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to command it. If the Law deſtroy me, your Majeſty ſhall put me out of your Power, and then I ſhall have none to fear, none to reverence but the King of Kings.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble Vaſſal

Walter Raleigh.

The

To the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, *and* Devonſhire, *and to the Lord* Cecill, *declaring his Innocency in the two Points wherewith he was charged, as in Point of Treaſon, the* 14*th of* Auguſt 1603.

I Do not know whether your Lordſhips have ſeen my Anſwers to all the Matters which my Lord *Henry Howard*, my Lord *Wotton*, and Sir *Edward Cooke* have examined me on, upon *Saturday* the 14*th* of this Preſent; which makes me bold to write unto your Lordſhips at this Time; the two principal Accuſations being theſe. The Firſt, that Money was offered me, with a Pretence to maintain the Amity; but the Intent was to have aſſiſted His Majeſty's Surprize. The other, that I was privy to my Lord *Cobham*'s *Spaniſh* Journey. For the Firſt: I beſeech Your Lordſhips to weigh it ſeriouſly, before there be any farther Proceeding: For to leave me to the Cruelty of the Law of *England*, and to that *Summum Jus*, before both your Underſtandings and Conſciences be thoroughly informed, were but careleſly to deſtroy the Father and Fatherleſs; and you may be aſſured, that there is no Glory, nor any Reward that can recompence the ſhedding of innocent Blood. And whereas it ſeemeth to appear, that this Money was offered to others, long after it was offered to me, and upon ſome other Conſiderations than it was unto me: For my ſelf, I avow upon my Allegiance, that I never either knew or ſuſpected, either the Man or the new Intention. To me it was but once propounded; and in three Weeks after, I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any Commiſſion to offer it, as the everlaſting God doth witneſs. For, if that Word (Amity) had been uſed to me colourably, I

muſt have been alſo made acquainted, with the true End for which it ſhould have been given; which it ſeemeth was for the Surprize. But of any ſuch horrible and fearful Purpoſe, if ever I had ſo much as a Suſpicion, I refuſe your Lordſhip's Favours, and the King's Mercy. I know that your Lordſhips have omitted nothing to find out the Truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill Surgeons to lay on Plaiſters too naarrow for ſo great Wounds; ſo I truſt that you will not imitate unlearned Phyſicians, to give Medicines more cruel than the Diſeaſe it ſelf.

For the Journey into *Spain*, I know that I was accuſed to be privy thereunto: But I know your Lordſhips have a Reputation of Conſcience as well as of Induſtry. By what Means that revengeful Accuſation was ſtirred, you, my Lord *Cecill*, know right well, that it was my Letter about *Kemiſh*; and your Lordſhips all know whether it be maintained, or whether out of Truth, and out of a Chriſtian Conſideration it be revoked. I know that to have ſpoken it once is enough for the Law, if we lived under a cruel Prince; but I know that the King is too merciful to have or ſuffer his Subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchriſtian Advantage, unleſs he be reſolved or can perſuade his religious Heart of the Equity: I know that the King thinks (with all good Princes) *ſatius eſt peccare in alteram Partem.* God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have ſpent forty thouſand Pounds of mine own againſt that King and Nation; that I never reſerved ſo much of all my Fortunes as to purchaſe forty Pounds *per Ann.* Land; that I have been a violent Perſecutor and Furtherer of all Enterprizes againſt that Nation; I have ſerved againſt them in Perſon; and how, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Suffolk* can witneſs. I diſcovered myſelf the richeſt Part of all his *Indies*. I have planted in his Territories. I offered his Majeſty at my Uncle *Carew*'s, to carry two thouſand Men to invade him without the King's Charge.

Alas!

Alas! to what End ſhould we live in the World, if all the Endeavours of ſo many Teſtimonies ſhall be blown off with one Blaſt of Breath, or be prevented by one Man's Word; and in this Time when we have a generous Prince, from whom to purchaſe Honour and good Opinion, I had no other Hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and inſolent Nation. Think therefore, I moſt humbly beſeech you, on my great Affliction with Compaſſion, who have loſt my Eſtate, and the King's Favour, upon one Man's Word; and as you would that God ſhould deal with you, deal with me: You all know that the Law of *England* hath need of a merciful Prince, and if you put me to Shame, you take from me all Hope ever to receive his Majeſty's leaſt Grace again. I beſeech you to be reſolved of thoſe Things of which I am accuſed, and diſtinguiſh me from others. As you have true Honour, and as you would your ſelves be uſed in the like. Forget all particular Miſtakes, *multos Clementia honeſtavit, Ultio nullum.* Your Lordſhips know that I am guiltleſs of the Surprize intended. Your Lordſhips know, or may know, that I never accepted of the Money, and that it was not offered me for any ill; and of the *Spaniſh* Journey, I truſt your Conſciences are reſolved. Keep not then, I beſeech you, theſe my Anſwers and humble Deſires, from my Sovereign Lord, *qui eſt Rex pius & miſericors, & non Leo coronatus.* Thus humbly beſeeching your Lordſhips to have a merciful Regard of me, I reſt

Your Lordſhips humble and

miſerable Suppliant,

Walter Raleigh.

To the King after his Condemnation at Wincheſter, 1603.

THE Life which I had (moſt mighty Prince) the Law hath taken from me; and I am now but the ſame Earth and Duſt, out of which I was firſt framed. If my Offences had any Proportion with your Majeſty's Mercy, I ſhould not deſpair; or if my Crime had any Quantity with your Majeſty's unmeaſurable Goodneſs, I might yet have Hope; but it is your great Majeſty that muſt judge of both, and not I. Blood, Name, Gentry or Eſtate, have I (now) none, no not ſo much as a Being, no not ſo much as *Vita Plantæ*. I have only a penitent Soul in a Body of Iron, which moveth towards the Loadſtone of Death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majeſty's Mercy turn the Point towards me which expelleth. Loſt I am, for hearing a vain Man, for hearing only, and never believing or approving; and ſo little Account I made of that Speech of his, which was my Condemnation, (as the living God doth truly witneſs) that I never remembred any ſuch Thing, till it was at my Trial objected againſt me. So did he repay my Care, who cared to make him good, which (now too late) ſee no Care of Man can effect. But God (for mine Offences towards him) hath laid this heavy Burthen upon me, miſerable and unfortunate Wretch that I am; but not for loving you (my Sovereign) hath God laid this Sorrow on me: For he knoweth (with whom I may not diſſemble) that I honoured your Majeſty by Fame, and loved and admired you by Knowledge, ſo whether I live or die, your Majeſty's true and loving Servant, and loyal Subject I will live and die. If I now write what doth not become me (moſt merciful Prince) vouchſafe to aſcribe it to the Counſel of a dead Heart, and to a Mind which Sorrow hath broken

and

and confounded; but the more my Miſery is, the more is your Majeſty's Mercy, if you pleaſe to behold it; and the leſs I can deſerve, the more liberal your Majeſty's Gift ſhall be. God only ſhall imitate your Majeſty herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to ſuch a one as from whom there can be no Retribution, but only a Deign to repay a lent Life, with the ſame great Love, which the ſame great Goodneſs ſhall pleaſe to beſtow it. This being the firſt Letter that ever your Majeſty received from a dead Man, I humbly ſubmit myſelf to the Will of my ſupreme Lord, and ſhall willingly and patiently ſuffer whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to impoſe upon me.

Walter Raleigh.

To his Wife the Night before he expected to be put to Death at Wincheſter, 1603.

YOU ſhall now receive (my dear Wife) my laſt Words in theſe my laſt Lines. My Love I ſend you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my Counſel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my Will, preſent you with Sorrows (dear *Beſs*,) let them go into the Grave with me, and be buried in the Duſt: And ſeeing it is not the Will of God, that ever I ſhall ſee you more in this Life; bear it patiently, and with a Heart like thyſelf.

Firſt, I ſend you all the Thanks which my Heart can conceive, or my Words can expreſs, for your many Travels, and Care taken for me; which though they have not taken Effect as you wiſhed, yet my Debt to you is not the leſs; but pay it I never ſhall in this World.

Secondly,

Secondly, I beſeech you, for the Love you bear me living, do not hide yourſelf many Days after my Death, but by your Travels ſeek to help your miſerable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child: Thy Mournings cannot avail me, I am but Duſt.

Thirdly, You ſhall underſtand, that my Land was conveyed *(bona Fide)* to my Child; the Writings were drawn at Midſummer was Twelve Months; my honeſt Cozen *Brett* can teſtify ſo much, and *Dalberie* too can remember ſomewhat therein: And I truſt my Blood will quench their Malice that have thus cruelly murthered me; and that they will not ſeek alſo to kill thee and thine with extreme Poverty. To what Friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true Time of Tryal: And I plainly perceive that my Death was determined from the firſt Day. Moſt ſorry I am, (God knows) that being thus ſurprized with Death, I can leave you in no better Eſtate; God is my Witneſs I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchaſed by ſelling it; half my Stuff and all my Jewels, but ſome one for the Boy; but God hath prevented all my Reſolutions, even that great God that ruleth all in all: But if you can live free from Want, care for no more, the reſt is but Vanity; love God, and begin betimes to repoſe yourſelf on him; and therein ſhall you find true and laſting Riches, and endleſs Comfort. For the reſt, when you have travelled and wearied your Thoughts over all Sorts of worldly Cogitation, you ſhall but ſit down by Sorrow in the End. Teach your Son alſo to love and fear God, whilſt he is yet young, that the Fear of God may grow up with him; and then God will be a Huſband to you, and a Father to him; a Huſband and a Father which cannot be taken from you. *Bayly* oweth me two hundred Pounds, and *Adrian Gilbert* ſix hundred Pounds. In *Jerſy* alſo I have much Money owing me; beſides, the Arrear-

ages

ages of the Wines will pay my Debts; and howſoever you do, for my Soul's Sake pay all poor Men. When I am gone, no doubt you ſhall be ſought to by many, for the World thinks that I was very rich: But take heed of the Pretences of Men, and their Affections; for they laſt not, but in honeſt and worthy Men; and no greater Miſery can befal you in this Life, than to become a Prey, and afterwards to be deſpiſed. I ſpeak not this (God knows) to diſſuade you from Marriage; for it will be beſt for you, both in reſpect of the World and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine; Death has cut us aſunder; and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me.

Remember your poor Child, for his Father's Sake; who choſe you and loved you in his happieſt Time. Get thoſe Letters (if it be poſſible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I ſued for my Life. God is my Witneſs, it was for you and yours that I deſired Life: But it is true that I diſdain myſelf for begging it, for know it (dear Wife) that your Son is the Son of a true Man, and one who in his own reſpect deſpiſeth Death, and all his miſhapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much; God he knoweth how hardly I ſteal this Time, while others ſleep; and it is alſo high Time that I ſhould ſeparate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied thee; and either lay it at *Sherburne* (if the Land continue) or in *Exeter* Church by my Father and Mother; I can ſay no more, Time and Death call me away.

The everlaſting, powerful, infinite and omnipotent God; who is Goodneſs itſelf; the true Life and true Light keep thee and thine, have Mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my Perſecutors and Accuſers, and ſend us to meet in his glorious Kingdom. My dear

Wife, farewel: bleſs my poor Boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his Arms.

Written with the dying Hand of ſometime thy Huſband, but now (alas) overthrown.

Yours that was but now not my own,

Walter Raleigh.

To Sir Robert Car, *after Earl of* Somerſet.

SIR,

AFTER many Loſſes, and many Years Sorrows, of both which I have Cauſe to fear I was miſtaken in their Ends, it is come to my Knowledge, that yourſelf (whom I know not but by an honourable Favour) hath been perſuaded to give me and mine my laſt fatal Blow, by obtaining from his Majeſty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, loſt in Law for Want of a Word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the Name of Life; His Majeſty, whom I never offended (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate Goodneſs) ſtay'd me at the Grave's Brink; not that I thought his Majeſty thought me worthy of many Deaths, and to behold mine caſt out of the World with myſelf, but as a King that knoweth the Poor in Truth, hath received a Promiſe from God, that his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

And for you, Sir, ſeeing your fair Day is but in the Dawn, mine drawn to the ſetting; your own Virtues and the King's Grace aſſuring you of many Fortunes and much Honour: I beſeech you begin not your firſt Building upon the Ruins of the Innocent, and let not mine and their Sorrows attend your firſt Plantation. I have

have ever been bound to your Nation as well for many other Graces, as for the true Report of my Trial to the King's Majeſty; againſt whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my Cauſe would not have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compaſſion, and the Minds of the greateſt Number then preſent into the Commiſeration of mine Eſtate. It is not the Nature of foul Treaſon to beget ſuch fair Paſſions; neither could it agree with the Duty and Love of faithful Subjects (eſpecially of your Nation) to bewail his Overthrow that had conſpired againſt their moſt natural and liberal Lord. I therefore truſt that you will not be the firſt that ſhall kill us outright, cut down the Tree with the Fruit, and undergo the Curſe of them that enter the Fields of the Fatherleſs: Which if it pleaſes you to know the Truth, is far leſs in Value than in Fame. But that ſo worthy a Gentleman as yourſelf, will rather bind us to you (being ſix Gentlemen not bare in Birth and Alliance) which have Intereſt therein: And myſelf with the uttermoſt Thankfulneſs will remain ready to obey your Commands.

Walter Raleigh.

To the Duke, 12th of Auguſt.

IF I preſume too much, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon me, eſpecially in preſuming to write to ſo great and worthy a Perſon, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but moſt happy had I been, if I might have diſapproved that Villany againſt me, when there had been no Suſpicion, that the Deſire to ſave my Life, had preſented my Excuſe.

But, my worthy Lord, it is not to excuſe myſelf that I now write: I cannot: for I have now offended my

Sovereign Lord: For all paſt, even all the World, and my very Enemies have lamented my Loſs, whom now if his Majeſty's Mercy alone do not lament, I am loſt. Howſoever that which doth comfort my Soul in this Offence is, that even in the Offence itſelf, I had no other Intent than his Majeſty's Service, and to make his Majeſty know, that my late Enterprize was grounded upon a Truth, and which with one Ship ſpeedily ſet out, I meant to have aſſured, or to have died: Being reſolved, (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been reſtrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majeſty's gracious Opinion, but to have deſtroyed all thoſe malignant Reports which had been ſpread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I ſo much truſted, (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my Heart, cannot but teſtify, and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my Death ſhall witneſs: Yea, that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I deſired to ſave no other Treaſure than the exact Deſcription of thoſe Places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a diſcontented Man, God I truſt, and mine own Actions, will diſſuade his Majeſty; whom neither the Loſs of my Eſtate, thirteen Years Impriſonment, and the Denial of my Pardon, could beat from his Service. And the Opinion of being accounted a Fool, or rather diſtract, by returning as I did unpardon'd, balanced with my Love to his Majeſty's Perſon and Eſtate, had no Place at all in my Heart.

It was that laſt ſevere Letter from my Lords, for the ſpeedy bringing of me up, and the Impatience of Diſhonour, that firſt put me in Fear of my Life, or enjoying it in a perpetual Impriſonment, never to recover my Reputation loſt, which ſtrengthened me in my late, and too late lamented Reſolution, if his Majeſty's Mercy do not abound: If his Majeſty do not pity my Age, and ſcorn to take the extremeſt and utmoſt Advantage of my Errors: If his Majeſty in his

his great Charity do not make a Difference between Offences proceeding from a Life-ſaving natural Impulſion, without ill Intent, and thoſe of an ill Heart; and that your Lordſhip, remarkable in the World for the Nobleneſs of you Diſpoſition, do not vouchſafe to become my Interceſſor, whereby your Lordſhip ſhall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my Kindred to honour your Memory, and bind me for all the Time of that Life which your Lordſhip ſhall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever proſper, and ever bind me to remain

Your moſt humble Servant,

W. Raleigh.

POEMS.

Upon Gaſcoign's *Poem, call'd,* The Steel-Glaſs.

SWEET were the Sauce would pleaſe each kind of Taſte,
The Life likewiſe were pure that never ſwerv'd,
For ſpiteful Tongues, in cankerd Stomachs plac'd,
Deem worſt of Things, which beſt percaſe deſerv'd.
But what for that? this Med'cine may ſuffice,
To ſcorn the reſt, and ſeek to pleaſe the Wiſe.

Though ſundry Minds in ſundry Sort do deem,
Yet Worthieſt Wights yield Praiſe for every Pain;
But envious Brains do nought (or Light) eſteem,
Such ſtately Steps as they cannot attain:
For whoſo reaps Renown above the reſt,
With Heaps of Hate, ſhall ſurely be oppreſt.

Wherefore, to write my Cenſure of this Book,
This Glaſs of Steel impartially doth ſhew,
Abuſes all to ſuch as in it look,
From Prince to Poor; from high Eſtate to low.
As for the Verſe, who liſt like Trade to try,
I fear me much ſhall hardly reach ſo high.

A Viſion upon the Fairy Queen.

METhought I ſaw the Grave where *Laura* lay;
Within that Temple, where the veſtal Flame
Was wont to burn; and, paſſing by that Way,
To ſee that buried Duſt of living Fame,
Whoſe Tomb fair Love, and fairer Virtue kept,
All ſuddenly I ſaw the Faery Queen:
At whoſe Approach the Soul of *Petrarke* wept,
And, from thenceforth, thoſe Graces were not ſeen;
For, they this Queen attended; in whoſe ſteed
Oblivion laid him down on *Laura*'s Hearſe:
Hereat the hardeſt Stones were ſeen to bleed,
And Groans of buried Ghoſts the Heavens did pierce;
Where *Homer*'s Spright did tremble all for Grief,
And curſt th' Acceſs of that celeſtial Thief.

On the ſame.

THE Praiſe of meaner Wits this Work like Profit brings,
As doth the Cucko's Song delight, when *Philomela* ſings;
If thou haſt formed right true Virtue's Face herein;
Virtue herſelf can beſt diſcern, to whom they written been.
If thou haſt Beauty prais'd, let her ſole Looks divine,
Judge if ought therein be amiſs, and mend it by her Eyne.
If Chaſtity want ought, or Temperance her due,
Behold her princely Mind aright, and write thy Queen anew.
Mean while ſhe ſhall perceive, how far her Virtues ſoar
Above the Reach of all that live, or ſuch as wrote of Yore:

And

And thereby will excuſe and favour thy good Will:
Whoſe Virtue cannot be expreſt, but by an Angel's Quill.
Of me no Lines are lov'd, nor Letters are of Price,
Of all, which ſpeak our *Engliſh* Tongue; but thoſe of thy Device.

SONG.

By Chriſtopher Marlow.

COME live with me and be my Love,
And we will all the Pleaſures proye,
That Grove or Valley, Hill, or Field,
Or Wood and ſteepy Mountain yield.

Where we will ſit on riſing Rocks,
And ſee the Shepherds feed their Flocks
By ſhallow Rivers, to whoſe Falls
Melodious Birds ſing Madrigals.

Pleas'd will I make thee Beds of Roſes,
And twine a thouſand fragrant Poſies;
A Cap of Flow'rs, and rural Kirtle,
Embroider'd all with Leaves of Mirtle.

A jaunty Gown of fineſt Wool,
Which from our pretty Lambs we pull;
And Shoes lin'd choicely for the Cold,
With Buckles of the pureſt Gold.

A Belt of Straw, and Ivy-Buds,
With Coral Claſps, and Amber-Studs;
If theſe, theſe Pleaſures can thee move,
To live with me, and be my Love.

The ANSWER,

By Sir Walter Raleigh.

IF all the World and Love were young,
And Truth on every Shepherd's Tongue,
Theſe Pleaſures might my Paſſion move
To live with thee, and be thy Love:

But fading Flowers in ev'ry Field,
To Winter Floods their Treaſures yield;
A honey'd Tongue, a Heart of Gall,
Is Fancy's Spring, but Sorrow's Fall.

Thy Gown, thy Shoes, thy Beds of Roſes,
Thy Cap, thy Kirtle, and thy Poſies,
Are all ſoon wither'd, broke, forgotten,
In Folly ripe, in Reaſon rotten.

Thy Belt of Straw, and Ivy-Buds,
Thy Coral Claſps, and Amber-Studs,
Can me with no Inticements move,
To live with thee, and be thy Love.

But could Youth laſt, could Love ſtill breed;
Had Joys no Date, had Age no Need;
Then thoſe Delights my Mind might move,
To live with thee, and be thy Love.

The ſilent Lover.

PAſſions are likened beſt to Floods and Streams;
The ſhallow murmur, but the deep are dumb;
So, when Affections yield Diſcourſe, it ſeems
The Bottom is but ſhallow whence they come:
They that are rich in Words muſt needs diſcover,
They are but poor in that which makes a Lover.

Wrong

Wrong not, ſweet Miſtreſs of my Heart!
The Merit of true Paſſion,
With thinking that he feels no Smart,
Who ſues for no Compaſſion!

Since, if my Plaints were not t'approve
The Conqueſt of thy Beauty,
It comes not from Defect of Love,
But fear t' exceed my Duty.

For, knowing that I ſue to ſerve
A Saint of ſuch Perfection
As all deſire, but none deſerve
A Place in her Affection,

I rather chuſe to want Relief
Than venture the Revealing:
Where Glory recommends the Grief
Deſpair diſdains the healing!

Thus thoſe Deſires that boil ſo high
In any mortal Lover,
When Reaſon cannot make them die,
Diſcretion them muſt cover.

Yet when Diſcretion doth bereave
The Plaints that I ſhou'd utter,
Then your Diſcretion may perceive
That Silence is a Suitor.

Silence in Love bewrays more Woe
Than Words, tho' ne'er ſo witty;
A Beggar that is dumb you know,
May challenge double Pity.

Then wrong not, deareſt to my Heart!
My Love for ſecret Paſſion;
He ſmarteth moſt that hides his Smart,
And ſues for no Compaſſion.

VERSES

The FAREWELL. *

I.

GO, Soul, the Bodies gueſt,
Upon a thankleſs Arrant,
Fear not to touch the Beſt,
The Truth ſhall be thy Warrant.
Go, ſince I needs muſt die,
And give them all the lie.

II.

Go, tell the Court it glows,
And ſhines like painted Wood;
Go, tell the Church it ſhows
What's Good, but does no good.
If Court and Church reply,
Give Court and Church the lie.

III.

Tell Potentates, they live
Acting, but oh! their Actions
Not lov'd, unleſs they give;
Nor ſtrong, but by their Factions.
If Potentates reply,
Give Potentates the lie.

IV.

Tell Men of high Condition,
That rule Affairs of ſtate,
Their Purpoſe is Ambition;
Their Practice only hate.
And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

* *This Poem is ſuppoſed to be Sir* Walter Raleigh's, *and appears to have been written ſome ſhort Time before his Death.*

V. Tell

V.

Tell thoſe that brave it moſt,
They beg for more by ſpending;
Who in their greateſt coſt
Seek nothing but commending.
And if they make reply
Spare not to give the lie.

VI.

Tell Zeal it lacks Devotion;
Tell Love it is but Luſt;
Tell Time it is but Motion;
Tell Fleſh it is but Duſt.
And wiſh them not reply,
For thou muſt give the lie.

VII.

Tell Age it daily waſteth;
Tell Honour how it alters;
Tell Beauty that it blaſteth;
Tell Favour that ſhe falters.
And as they do reply,
Give every one the lie.

VIII.

Tell Wit how much it wrangles
In fickle Points of Niceneſs;
Tell Wiſdom ſhe intangles
Herſelf in over-wiſeneſs.
And if they do reply,
Then give them both the lie.

IX.

Tell Phyſick of her Boldneſs;
Tell Skill it is Pretenſion;
Tell Charity of Coldneſs;
Tell Law it is Contention.

And

And if they yield reply,
Then give them ſtill the lie.

X.

Tell Fortune of her Blindneſs;
Tell Nature of Decay;
Tell Friendſhip of Unkindneſs;
Tell Juſtice of Delay.
And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

XI.

Tell Arts they have no Soundneſs,
But vary by eſteeming;
Tell Scholars lack Profoundneſs,
And ſtand too much on ſeeming.
If Arts and Schools reply,
Give Arts and Schools the lie.

XII.

Tell Faith it's fled the City;
Tell how the Country erreth;
Tell Manhood ſhakes off Pity;
Tell Virtue leaſt preferreth.
And if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

XIII.

So, when thou haſt, as I
Commanded thee, done blabbing;
Although to give the lie
Deſerves no leſs than ſtabbing;
Yet ſtabb at thee whoſe will,
No ſtabb the Soul can kill.

His PILGRIMAGE.

GIVE me my Scallop-ſhell of Quiet,
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy, immortal Diet;
My Bottle of Salvation.

My

My Gown of Glory, (Hope's true Gage)
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage.
Blood muſt be my Bodies only Balmer,
Whilſt my Soul like a quiet Palmer,
Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven,
No other Balm will there be given.
Over the Silver Mountains,
Where ſprings the Nectar Fountains,
There will I kiſs the Bowl of Bliſs,
And drink mine everlaſting fill
Upon every milken Hill.
My Soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirſt no more.
I'll take them firſt, to quench my Thirſt,
And taſte of Nectars Suckets,
At thoſe clear Wells
Where Sweetneſs dwells,
Drawn up by Saints in cryſtal Buckets.
Then by that happy bleſtful Day,
More peaceful Pilgrims I ſhall ſee,
That have caſt off their Rags of Clay,
And walk apparelled freſh like me,
And when our Bodies and all we
Are fill'd with Immortality,
Then the bleſſed Parts we'll travel,
Strow'd with Rubies thick as Gravel,
Cielings of Diamonds, Saphire Flowers,
High Walls of Coral, and pearly Bowers.
From thence to Heavens bribeleſs Hall,
Where no corrupted Voices brawl,
No Conſcience molten into Gold,
No forg'd Accuſer bought or ſold,
No Cauſe deferr'd, no vain ſpent Journey,
For there *Chriſt* is the King's Attorney,
Who pleads for all without Degrees,
And he hath Angels, but no Fees:

And when the twelve grand Million Jury
Of our Sins, with direful Fury,
Gainſt our Souls black Verdicts give,
Chriſt pleads his Death, and then we live.
Be thou my Speaker, [taintleſs Pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder,]
Thou wouldſt Salvation even for Alms,
Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
And this is mine eternal Plea,
To him that made Heaven, Earth and Sea,
That ſince my Fleſh muſt die ſo ſoon,
And want a Head to dine next Noon,
Juſt at the Stroke, when my Veins ſtart and ſpread,
Set on my Soul an everlaſting Head.
Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit,
To tread thoſe bleſt Paths which before I writ.
Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell;
Who oft doth think, muſt needs die well.

Verſes found in his Bible *in the* Gatehouſe *at* Weſtminſter.

EVen ſuch is Time, which takes in truſt
Our Youth, our Joys, and all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Duſt,
Which in the dark and ſilent Grave,
When we have wandred all our Ways,
Shuts up the Story of our Days:
And from which Grave, and Earth, and Duſt,
The Lord ſhall raiſe me up I truſt.

On the Snuff of a Candle *the Night before he died.*

COwards fear to die; but Courage ſtout,
Rather than live in Snuff, will be put out.

FINIS.

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